THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

Vol. 8 Winter · 1938-1939 No. 1

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Who Bends the Twig in Spain?

JOSÉ CASTILLEJO

IN THE Spain of the 19th century nobody would have thought of political education in schools, still less of participation by the schools in public life. Government was considered a product of reason and knowledge, a technical function from which children, women and the lower social classes ought to be excluded on account of their ignorance; democracy a selection of the best rulers as well as an initiation of the masses into the secrets of public welfare—a process of selection and initiation which demands, as a safeguard to the community, at least as ripe an age as is needed for the wise judgment of one's own individual conduct.

But two momentous events changed the whole situation. The State, under the influence of the enlightened ideas of the 18th and the political doctrines of the 19th century, came to assume direct control of schools; and democracy was extended, within the constitutional framework, until a general franchise was granted to all male citizens over 25. The impediment of ignorance ceased to hold good as a barrier to the participation of schools in the political life of the country.

Yet there were other motives for keeping youth out of politics. As democracy threatened to become an unscrupulous race for power, political life loomed as a school of moral degeneracy, ambition, envy and hatred from which youth ought to have the privilege of remaining aloof. Thoughtful families did not like children to hear conversations about political intrigues or attend electoral meetings any more than they wanted them to indulge in pornographic reading or in the literature of crime. They wanted childhood to be spent in a world of joy, love, tolerance, nature, beauty and imagination, far from the bitter realities of the struggle for might.

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But into this belief there crept a singular contradiction. The Church had not renounced the religious and moral direction of the State schools. Childhood was deemed the right period for religious initiation. Yet its appurtenances of sin, hell, punishment, penitence and duties lead to a drama vaster in its proportions and more cruel in its conflicts than a political feud. Cautious teachers and wise priests were aware of the danger; and the Spanish cynic Campoamor portrayed the girl "who had learned through the lives of the saints the least saintly things of life." Thus while young people were kept out of public life both to forestall the harm its crudity might do them and the harmful effect of their inexperience upon political institutions, they were introduced to religious mysteries because imitation, suggestion and obedience, the columns of faith, must be built up in tender minds. Later in life one is prone to substitute a rationalistic philosophy for Christian belief. Nobody thought that if ever political ideas became popular Spain would fall under the spell of mysticism that had run through Spanish history from the 9th to the 17th century, and that political education would become a sort of religious training. It seems as though the alternatives were thought to be impious rationalism or blind sectarianism.

Francisco Giner de los Rios, a liberal philosopher and educator whose exquisite mind, though steeped in religious devotion, had evolved towards free thought, proposed that the contradiction be resolved by using the schools to lay a religious foundation, but one that would be free from any dogmatic or confessional tenets. He believed it possible to use impartial outlines of the history and doctrines of all the great religions in educating the natural impulse of the human intellect to seek an answer to those enigmas of life and of the universe which lie beyond the boundaries of experience. The religious sense can be fostered in schools through habit, a serious approach to life and sensibility to moral duties. Confessional teaching and practice should be left to Church and family. Just as it is possible, Giner said, to educate the artistic apprecia-

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tion of children without betraying any preference for Oriental or Occidental, classic, Gothic or modern schools, so it is possible to train the religious sense as a basic element in character without thrusting on children a creed which must always be exclusive and is generally aggressive. The school should not implant or germinate seeds of hatred and intolerance. It should rather cultivate and strengthen at an early age what is common to all human beings. This conception implies that schools should not permit dogmatism to be used as a snare to get recruits for this or the other Church or party in matters which can only be weighed and understood by adult minds. No one would urge a child to decide on the person he should marry or upon his career. Is it not worse to make him choose a religion or a political party? But on the other hand this respect for free determination later on in life implies a previous nurture of intelligence and a training in the evaluation of religious as well as of philosophical and political ideas.

This educational policy, much more advanced and elaborate than the confession of Rousseau's Savoyard vicar, met violent opposition. It was a philosophy of education too difficult, too detached and too tolerant for even the liberal Spain of the 19th century. It needed moreover to be handled by teachers of sound moral conscience. The Church insisted on its right to forge the soul of the child as early as possible in the eternal verities of the only true religion. The positivists, who claimed to be the scientific vanguard, wanted on the contrary to proscribe all religious training, for they considered religion a fraud aimed at the enthralment of children's minds.

Meanwhile socialism—which had organized itself as a disciplined international party with its own ecumenical and diocesan councils and its gospel, like a Church—accepted in this matter as in many others the point of view of the Catholics, but wielded the Catholics' own weapons against them. Obviously if a religious faith can use the period of childhood to sow belief in immature minds, the same is true of a political creed that relies on faith, proselytism and passion.

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Another promising discovery was also made: that children, once in the hands of a Church or party, could be used for demonstrations of force and as instruments of propaganda. From time to time in fact, in moments of political crisis, the Church had made a display of children in public processions as if to implore divine assistance by voices whose innocence was particularly agreeable to God. The socialists responded by organizing socialist youth for parades particularly agreeable to the masses. During the first quarter of our century youth began to play a role in political campaigns on behalf of Catholics or socialists. A civil war was preparing between the younger generation of those two parties which, since they were more akin than any others in methods, were more reciprocally loathsome.

What about the universities? In the 19th century they became institutions entirely supported by the State, with a staff appointed by the government under a centralized and uniform organization modeled on the Napoleonic pattern. The faculties of theology were suppressed and the training of priests was left to the direction of bishops in the seminaries. Though freedom of the academic chair had been opposed and defended respectively by Rights and Lefts, by the end of the century it was well established. Constitutional monarchists, absolutist Carlists, Catholics, republicans, freemasons, free thinkers, liberals, democrats and socialists, some of them active political leaders, could collaborate in the universities without the slightest friction. They were respected, moreover, by the student body, who kept apart from political strife save for occasional strikes or riots in days of public effervescence. But could the two new streams of youth previously imbued with inimical, pugnacious faiths merge into a quiet lake of pure science?

Catholic leaders insisted on the essential need of maintaining spiritual unity during the whole of a man's life and stressed the danger of contagion. True conservatives, they endorsed the pessimistic belief in the supremacy of evil over good and, fearing that free intercourse would make Catholics lose their

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faith rather than convert unbelievers, they decided to open, as rivals to the State universities, some residential colleges where Catholic students could live in a Catholic atmosphere and be taught only by Catholic professors. But these small colleges, only three in number, struck the snag of examinations and degrees—the exclusive privilege of State universities—and consequently had to reduce their program to a mere coaching for State examinations.

With these several exceptions the overwhelming majority of Spanish students, of all religions and of all political shades, mixed with each other in the State universities or higher schools.

Socialism coincided with Catholicism in its aspiration toward a unitary training of youth (provided the unity was socialist) but its leaders never devised a true higher education for workers. There has never been a genuine workers' university in Spain though a successful experiment in university extension work was made in Oviedo at the beginning of the century. Socialist youth received its political training in socialist unions. Moreover socialists shared with Catholics the dread of contamination, and disliked mixing workers with university scholars lest the workers become bourgeois.

Spanish youth were educated in five kinds of entirely dissociated higher institutions: military schools for the army and navy officers; seminaries for priests; arts and crafts schools and trade unions for workers; Catholic colleges for a pious and wealthy minority; and universities or technical schools for the rest of the middle and upper classes.

Giner, as he grew old, stood almost alone in his belief in a different conception of education. He advocated State educational institutions that would be free and open to all citizens—and without monopoly, for he wanted private schools and colleges to promote pioneer experiments and maintain an eager competition with each other. He dreamt of State universities for all—not as exclusive training centers for middle-class professions—and he would have liked to see workers and students

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learning history, art, sociology, economics, political science, philosophy, biology, cosmography or any other aspects of nature and the spirit, together. Much as he deprecated any kind of religious or political propaganda in universities, he rejected censorship or any limitations other than the laws common to all citizens.

The realities of the educational life of Spain proved very different from Giner's dream. Catholic leaders, wanting to control their academic youth whom they believed disastrously mingled in State universities with non-Catholics and anti-Catholics, organized Catholic student unions. This action was interpreted as a display of Catholic strength and as a claim to influence academic life—a suspicion that was confirmed when the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, set up in 1923, banned any student associations other than the Catholic and when riots broke out ordered police and soldiers to occupy university buildings. The dictator was not a bigot but his plea was that the interests and the preferences of the majority cannot be impaired by restless minorities.

But once again the absolutist tide in Spanish history aroused liberal reaction. The liberal-minded students had set up an association which under the dictatorship operated under the alluring incentive of having to be clandestine and illegal, a fascinating though risky game. The Spanish temperament and the national tradition of roguery called forth a stream of students' tricks and jokes. One day the morning sun made visible on the wall of the royal palace the notice "To be let" painted during the night with nitrate of silver. On another occasion, after a complacent majority of the Salamanca Faculty had conferred upon the dictator an honorary degree of Doctor of Law, a poor and innocent peasant walked the central streets of Madrid leading his donkey decorated with the inscription "*Honoris Causa*"; and on the morrow of the day of national homage to which the dictator compelled his followers the controlled press published, as the most touching message Primo de Rivera had received, a beautiful sonnet writ-

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ten by a girl. Read vertically the poem turned out to be an acrostic insulting to the dictator.

The students' humor struck the final blow in a country tired even of the mild and generous absolutism of Primo de Rivera. The victory of the students evoked a great illusion: the students had had enough power and influence to overthrow a military ruler; freedom had triumphed over force; intelligence and science over guns; youth over experience and age. Would universities take the political leadership and attain a spiritual unity derived from knowledge and research?

No; the country was not totally in academic hands. The Republic born in 1931 was governed during its first months by a coalition of all parties (excepting monarchists and an anti-parliamentarian Left) plus a vanguard of students and workers. It was the first alliance between trade unions and university youth in Spanish history, an alliance without program or definite methods of action but with certain clear traits. All wanted emancipation from dogmatic authority, from political dictatorship and from capitalistic oppression; all sought a renovation of public life, under democratic control and mass impulse; but they were chiefly guided by instinct and they cherished social ideas of a predominantly mystic and mythical bent.

These tendencies explain the striking transformation in the liberal students since the early days of the Republic. After they had gained popular sympathy and an enormous prestige in their fight against the exclusiveness of the Catholics they proceeded to demand a ban upon Catholic student unions and asked for the creation of one single association which they hoped to control. This demand created the first rift in the great illusion. Was a dictatorship of liberals conceivable even if it had aimed at waiving any political or religious dogmatism? What was the use of ideals of freedom if it was not to make possible the coexistence, with equal rights, of all possible opinions?

Yet republican students, driven by resentment, refused to

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tolerate Catholic unions and confronted the Government with a dreadful dilemma: a choice between democracy as the will of the greater number, or liberalism as the bulwark of minorities. With youth split into two factions seeking to impose their ideas the universities ceased to be centers of collaboration in the search for truth, regardless of numbers, and became actual battlefields.

The Government made its choice in favor of democracy, and the students' union of the Left obtained exclusive official recognition; but it had to pay a heavy duty for this privilege: it became a political instrument of the governing parties and was entirely at their mercy. With the closing of the schools and colleges of the religious orders and the impounding of their buildings, the teachers' associations came to the fore and began to use the schools as hotbeds of proselytism for or against the parties in power.

Each group aimed at a political unity but only force could decide whether the unity should be theocratic or democratic, capitalistic or communistic, enlightened or instinctive. Catholics and Left republicans seemed to share identical political conceptions, but each group had two: one demagogical, when it was in power; the other liberal, when it was in the opposition. It would not be fair to ascribe this inventiveness to Spaniards only.

At bottom Spain had had to face again, like several other countries, a medieval alternative: separation or unity of temporal and spiritual powers, of Church and State. Unlike the liberals of the 19th century the new anti-clericals vied with Catholics in getting hold of the minds of youth. The old strife between Church and Empire took the shape of a feud between two apparent Churches at the same time that the State, as an organism for freedom, justice and equality, was on the wane.

Fortunately the weighty question of the education of religious and political dissenters is not complicated in Spain by the new problem of races which in other countries has led either to persecution of racial minorities or to proposals of autonomy

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for ethnical groups. Spain is confronted instead by the old wrangle between central and regional government—and a main issue in the dispute centers on the control of education. This has placed the contending forces in a peculiar situation: the Church, sure of its unity and universality, and with its subtle threads extended as a net throughout all social strata and all regions and corners of the country, could afford during the 19th century to support the claims of the old regions for home rule. In order to gain support the republican parties of the Left surpassed the Church in concessions; but since they lacked spiritual unity, universality and permanence they could not split the political, administrative, judicial, military, economic and educational functions of the State without becoming involved in an endless bargain with every region and almost with every town. Even if a Catalonian, a Basque, a Galician, an Andalusian and a Castilian education were set up, a struggle would rage within each region between Catholics, dissenters, freethinkers, communists, anarchists, democrats, monarchists and republicans for the right to mold the brains and hearts of youth in the faith of a Church or party.

It was this tragic ordeal for the younger generations that the clear-sighted Giner wanted to prevent. He foresaw that after the centuries-long assault on the State by the Church, unscrupulous intellectuals would assail the same fortress and assert themselves the priests of a science sufficiently popular, diluted and schematic to supersede the former dogmas. Giner's predictions were realized; his warnings went unheeded and a civil war broke out between political dogmatisms.

In the midst of the greatest catastrophe that any country has experienced in modern Europe, certain promising symptoms are noticeable. Spanish youth has given proofs of courage, energy, endurance and heroic readiness to die for ideals. Both sides claim they are fighting against foreign intervention—which means that they already repent civil war. They have also begun to show an increasing tolerance in attitude, and to welcome priests, writers and politicians not affiliated

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with the governing groups. After all, whatever the final issue, the young people from both sides will have to live together.

In solving the vital question of the relation between schools and public life Spain can draw upon three widely divergent philosophies of education. In Russia, in Germany and in Italy the schools are workshops for the forging of political unity. In France the State schools coexist with private schools and although many of her teachers affiliated with contemporary mystic extremisms indulge in propaganda the traditional scientific spirit pervading French education, and the veneration of truth and freedom that characterizes the French mind, may save the schools of France from falling into the hands of sects or parties. England and the United States have escaped uniformity and centralization; they prefer variety, flexibility and liberty; their education is not handled by political organs; they abhor precocity; and the invasion of their universities by extremisms is still in the stage of a child's game. Spain will not readily accept a totalitarian discipline; neither could she set up an Anglo-Saxon educational machinery. But her traditional teacher, France, is now entangled in most serious social and political difficulties. The manner in which she solves them may be of paramount importance for the Iberian Peninsula.

Reciprocally the Spanish experience has taught the World how dangerously political oscillations threaten national education. Wherever the schools are in the hands of the State this is true—if the liberal guarantees of the 19th century succumb to the whims of a dictator or, still worse, to the pressure of popular will. The Spanish experience has shown that the political education of the masses is dependent on the moral attitude and the prudence of a few leading minorities. It has proved that in a compound of workers and students the mentality of the laborer overpowers university training; action prevails over thought. And it has clearly revealed that true science can and will reign, but only on condition that its throne is not in the office of a government official. Science armed with political power is more dangerous than a Church wielding a sword.

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ESP, House of Cards

JOSEPH JASTROW

CURRENT interest focuses the problem of telepathy upon the case for extra-sensory perception (ESP) as presented by Dr. J. B. Rhine of Duke University. A fresh examination of this subject is invited by the not altogether commendable publicity attaching to his contribution rather than by the intrinsic importance of the subject. The problem of telepathy is ancient; it entered the scientific stage, which alone is here to be considered, with the foundation of the Society for Psychical Research in London in 1882.

By way of narrative and record there has accumulated a vast amount of evidence suggestive of the transmission of impressions and ideas beyond the recognized avenues of information. This mass of evidence is not susceptible to scientific appraisal yet some of it, when critically recorded, is impressive. Most of it, however, is anecdotal, dubious, biased, the issue of faulty observation and familiar human frailties. Yet it all engenders a favorable disposition to credit psychic transmission of some sort and an expectation that experiment may supply at least a minimum basis for its support. A common belief is that on occasions of emotional stress or momentous fate extraordinary modes of communication are somehow drawn upon. This belief in turn goes back to folk tradition of second sight, premonitions and prophetic dreams. Such is the genealogy of the issue.

While focusing upon such phases of the problem as may be brought under scientific scrutiny it is well to bear in mind this great body of belief, which belongs authentically to our cultural history and inevitably shapes the popular attitude to even so colorless a task as that of guessing or somehow sensing, beyond chance allowance, the markings on unseen cards. This body of belief accounts for the present unusual situation: that

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the layman who accepts the verdict of science on almost any other issue offers a strong resistance to the negative verdict of psychology on the question of telepathy.

There is nothing notable or novel in the Rhine procedure.[1] It is just one of a score of devices to test a hypothetical power by a method that permits the ready calculation of successes attributable to chance. In the more complex varieties of psychic transmission the chance factor becomes coincidence, difficult or impossible to appraise. Experimental tests of what was formerly called thought-transference have been going on for some 50 years without producing evidence that is conclusive if judged by scientific standards of demonstration. I do not mean to imply that the findings were not impressive or that all the results can be accounted for. Nothing in science is 100 per cent demonstrable but a high degree of probability is attainable. By reason of popular appeal the Rhine protocol for ESP has aroused attention while other more striking evidence has been received with silence or commented upon only by those especially interested.

If representative psychologists can be trusted Dr. Rhine's two books offer no positive contribution or formidable challenge. The burden of proof, as of a *prima facie* case for ESP, rests wholly on the proponents of so subversive a proposition. In the interests of guiding public opinion, psychologists have given most generously of their time to pointing out the sources of error and weakness in the Rhine tests and argument. This is properly Dr. Rhine's own task but has been left to his critics.

The calculation of the right-by-chance formula has been furnished by Edward V. Huntington and his associates (THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Spring 1938). It sets forth a solution

[1] For the benefit of those who may not be acquainted with the Rhine procedure it may be added that he has prepared packs of 25 cards, each bearing one of these five signs: *circle*, *rectangle*, *star*, *wavy lines*, *plus*, and each occurring five times. These are shuffled to give an unknown order. The subject then guesses one by one the mark on the unseen card. The guessed order is then compared with the actual order. Each card that is correctly called is a "hit." When the hits in a sufficient series decidedly exceed five, which is the chance allowance, the series is regarded as favorable evidence for the existence of ESP. Sometimes the entire undisturbed pack is guessed through. There are other variations but essentially this is the standard procedure.

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of a complex mathematical problem and endorses the 5-in-25-right-by-chance average as sufficient for most purposes. There are, however, more complete indices of a possible ESP than the percentage of correct hits—notably the distribution of right and wrong guesses in the several runs and series. The mathematical formulae apply rigidly only when the experimental conditions comply with the assumptions on which the formulae are based. In several respects, such as the selection of data favorable to ESP, Dr. Rhine fails to observe these conditions. Essentially the mathematics is good enough; the errors are of procedure.

Most unfortunately Dr. Huntington's article was entitled "Is It Chance or ESP?" It is obvious from the article itself that no such alternative is indicated or implied. His discussion concludes with the neutral statement that since the error is not mathematical the case goes to the court of psychology. I fear even the trained minds addressed by THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR have drawn the completely false inference that a vote or verdict against chance is one for ESP. A spiritualist might by the same logic conclude that the correct guesses were prompted by spirit control.

Still more misleading is the argument dwelt upon by reviewers favorable to ESP: that when the odds against chance of a "successful" series reach astronomical dimensions an astronomical probability is somehow added to the hypothesis of ESP. This is throwing mathematical dust in the reader's eyes. When it is once established that "it" is not chance the case is closed. If 10,000 calls amply prove the case it is folly to extend the series to 100,000. The extension, moreover, may be just the repetition of the same errors that appeared early in the series. All these facts added up do not inspire confidence in the logical competence of the proponents of telepathy; especially since telepathy is in many phases a problem in logic.

The errors in the Rhine procedure are many. Some involve a greater technical knowledge of laboratory methods than the lay reader can be expected to follow. I shall reduce them to

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summaries and offer the reader the assurance that the errors are amply confirmed as errors by critics and investigators, for I have canvassed the views of some 200 psychologists on the Rhine experiments and have before me about 150 replies. I am thus reflecting their composite attitude which, though not unanimous, presents a concordant front of a large majority. In such an issue (one that involves an hypothesis which, if established, would run counter to some of the basic postulates of psychology and of modern science) this collective opinion should weigh heavily in the minds of the reflective laity. It should offset the extravagant and misleading endorsement of Dr. Rhine's claims by editors and reviewers who are not expert in these matters. It should likewise help the reader to discount the irresponsible blurbs of publishers. But be it said equally, that in addition to the very large group of psychologists who are content to express their scepticism or who do not care to register an opinion, there is a very small group who believe, with reservations, in the validity of the Rhine conclusions. Such is the wholesome state of opinion.

To ascribe any results, even speculatively, to an extra-sensory source one must rigorously exclude all sensory clues—and that is not as simple a matter as it seems, for human eyes and ears and fingers are amazingly keen where interest is enlisted in deriving impressions from levels far below clear awareness. The possibility of sensory clues applies both to the original Rhine series of cards and to those later issued. The earlier cards were heavy and opaque, hand-stamped. But the impression in some cases showed through. The extent of favorable findings based on these cards is not clear. The later cards, widely issued commercially, are thin, glazed, printed by a press under pressure. In these cards the impression is plain enough to be photographed in a strong light. The light must be far stronger, however, than that under which the cards would ordinarily be looked at. Obviously when the cards are not seen or handled this error does not apply. Such a failure to eliminate completely all sensory clues reflects upon the competence of

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the experimenters; in the opinion of some critics it goes far to discredit the entire investigation.

The error of selection has several aspects. Since the theory—however dubious its justification—assumes that only a few persons have the alleged power of ESP, it is fair enough to dismiss all who show no promise of it in preliminary trials. But, once selected, the subject's entire record must become the test; for the chance allowance is based on that condition. As Mr. Gelles (THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Fall 1938) points out, if the experimenter's right to terminate the series when the run is in his favor is granted "the average desired may be obtained." Such are not the ways of scientific evidence.

Allied to this error are the many errors of specious alibis, which remove the experiment and the argument from the forum of scientific discussion. All the rash inferences—that the hypothetical power declines through exercise, "is permanently injured by unwholesome memories," is upset by the presence of a sceptical observer—are completely unwarranted; and the alleged effects of one drug or another are deduced on flimsy evidence. These effects may exist, but it will require far more rigid evidence to establish them, when and if the existence of ESP can be established—and that is a very big "if" indeed.

The assumption of complete honesty on the part of all the subjects (especially when the majority of the tests on which the ambitious announcements are made depend upon eight students, and half of them on three students) is as unacceptable to the objective critic as it is naive in the experimenter. Dr. Rhine's reply to the charge of possible dishonesty on the part of his subjects is evasive. Students are not angels; other experimenters report cases of collusion among their subjects.

A special order of error is "*fudging*," which is an error of record. It occurs when the sign entered is not the one actually called but the sign actually exposed—which is in the recorder's mind. One critical experimenter found that 80 per cent of the "fudging" errors operate in favor of a higher score.

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In the Rhine "distance" experiment none of these sources of error, except the last, applies; but it is precisely in this strongest evidential series that the absence of witnesses makes collusion possible.

Rhine's results fail to be confirmed. At Colgate University (40,000 tests, 7 subjects), at Chicago (extensive series on 315 students), at Southern Methodist College (75,000 tests), at Glasgow, Scotland (6,650 tests), at London University (105,000 tests), not a single individual was found who under rigidly conducted experiments could score above chance. At Stanford University it has been convincingly shown that the conditions favorable to the intrusion of subtle errors produce above-chance records which come down to chance when sources of error are eliminated. Decisive is the case of Mrs. Eileen Garrett, medium, who at Duke University made the amazing score of 13.4 right in 25 for 25 successive packs, and when re-tested by Dr. Soal in her native London read the cards no better than chance. Where the same lax methods are followed under the same pressure to produce positive results the Rhine findings are paralleled.

The error of bias is the strong desire to prove what one sets out to prove. It runs through the Rhine books from preface to finis. The premium placed upon a successful series contributes an atmosphere which is far from judicial or critical and which therefore constitutes a comprehensive error in itself.

Even more damaging than errors of commission are those of omission. A conclusion about an ability so contradictory to scientific experience as ESP should not be based on one method alone. If the same subjects made comparably significant scores by two independent methods the case for ESP would be indefinitely stronger, for it is unlikely that two very different techniques would be subject to the same errors. That form of control is standard in the physical and biological sciences. There are methods of testing ESP more foolproof and more reliable than those used by Dr. Rhine.

The summary charge covering all of Dr. Rhine's work is

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directed against his failure to employ critical control—a failure which implies lack of appreciation of the nature of the problem and of its pitfalls, and an incompetence in the disciplines of experimental psychology. Effective controls were declined, moreover, on the basis of fanciful alibis. The principal control so declined was the suggestion that blank cards be occasionally introduced, to determine whether the ace espers would detect them or would see imaginary stars as readily as real ones. In rejecting the control the excuse given was that any deception would upset both the schedule and the poise of the subjects. But in psychological research where subjective factors enter in, such control is the approved procedure.

The problem before us is one of analyzing and criticizing a given piece of research, the integrity of which is not questioned. But the public, assuming that whatever has the sponsorship of a University must reflect the standards of rigid thinking there prevalent, naturally enough expects an undermining of the findings as the counter-argument. To some extent this can be and has been presented; but only a person who had been present throughout the tests and had observed the manner of procedure with an expert eye could render a complete verdict. The scientific mind, in the presence of evidence of incompetent handling, has no choice but to discredit the entire research; with an open mind it awaits the outcome of rigidly conducted tests. On the question whether all this energy and thought is worth while, indeed whether telepathy is a legitimate hypothesis, expert opinion is divided.

In the minds of psychologists who accept a comprehensive view of their responsibilities it is the *general objections* to ESP that weigh most heavily. Such objections are not "armchair" arguments in the obsolete sense; for today without armchair reflection the procedures of the laboratory would lack a compass. Dr. Gardner Murphy's charge that psychology's vested interests and its adherence to a physical world-view is "the very simple and adequate reason for the hesitant reception" of ESP (THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Spring 1938) lacks his customary

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regard for those basic principles which have given psychology its esteemed place in modern science; while his (and others') suggestion that there is a parallel between the reform of physics by modern concepts and the potential reform of psychology by telepathy rests on a misunderstanding of the two structures. The hesitation referred to grows out of a profound philosophical conviction, thus expressed by one of my correspondents:

> ESP is so contrary to the general scientific world picture, that to accept the former would compel the abandonment of the latter. I am unwilling to give up the body of scientific knowledge so painfully acquired in the Western world during the last 300 years, on the basis of a few anecdotes and a few badly reported experiments.

The day is past when a power, agency, "faculty"—or whatever it is supposed to be in the psychic realm—so subversive as ESP can be posited, and its issues and implications developed, without giving an intelligible if speculative account of its operation. No such account is offered. An extreme case of a violation of logical requirements was that of Richet, who posited ectoplasm on the basis of a medium's demonstration and argued that one must note the phenomena first and consider the explanation later. He admitted he had no theory of ectoplasm that was not too fantastic for consideration. Yet he held, Nobel prizeman in physiology that he was, that Eva C.'s miraculous body could in an hour create a living plasm which evolution had required eons to form. Ectoplasm was a biologist's conception of a non-existent phenomenon. ESP is equally unbiological. How could so fitful, uncertain and sparsely distributed a function, and one lacking any evolutionary significance, get into the heredity and appear as a freakish sport? What manner of "perception" is that which at one time sees a star as a star and the next moment as a wave? What sort of "perception" is it that makes perceiving wrongly only half the time a miracle power? What manner of "perception" is it that, if a blank card be introduced, is likely to "hallucinate" a wave or a plus?

And there is ever the practical objection that any one exer-

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cising even a fragmentary power of the type of ESP could surely make a fortune, annihilate privacy and eliminate gambling—if an opponent's hand could be telepathed. Surely among the millions of bridge players there must be some espers! They cannot all be confined to the one campus on which ESP is credited. Moreover there is the dubious history of the problem (with all its episodes of fraud and error which cannot be ignored)—for ESP has not appeared suddenly out of the blue.

Because of these combined considerations, and many others equally cogent offered by one and another of my correspondents, psychologists who have considered specifically the Rhine procedures and results, in an impressive majority reject the suggestion that these may be interpreted as evidence of ESP. To this majority may be added a group who view its possibility with extreme scepticism. They are agreed that a research so loosely conducted as that emanating from Duke University establishes nothing beyond the familiar fact that in the treacherous domain of telepathy slight logical violations, coupled with an original bias and operating in an unscientific atmosphere, can swerve the findings in the desired direction.

Is the case closed? Not in my opinion, which is shared by some psychologists and regarded by others as far too liberal. There are more logical advocates of telepathy than Dr. Rhine and certainly more modest ones. The case for telepathy in its scientific aspects may be argued profitably, provided both parties agree on the logical code and to that extent speak the same language.

But in all charity it is a bit presumptuous to say the Duke results "leave us little apparent choice between believing in clairvoyance and telepathy or believing in sheer nonsense," when said nonsense happens to be the conviction of psychologists generally today. With the same rhetorical fervor Dr. Rhine speaks of experiments to test the reality of telepathy "as if it were still an unsettled question." How can it be other than unsettled when four-fifths of the psychologists discredit it entirely? Dr. Rhine adds "This will, I predict, be one of

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the more amazing facts for the future historian of science." Since I have a like failing for prediction I should select that sentence as the source of future amazement were it not that in more sober mood I know both predictions will be forgotten. The historian of science will be concerned with weightier matters. The social responsibility for misleading the public into the belief that telepathy has been established is serious. This Dr. Rhine may share with the several agencies of publicity that have endorsed his findings, even to the absurd comparison of his discovery with those of Copernicus and Darwin. The situation is educationally deplorable and inevitably arouses the emphatic protests of psychologists.

The reflective portion of the public which I am here addressing should bear in mind that from first to last the question of ESP is one for experts but happens also to be one in which the laity exercises the privilege of private opinion in favor of a verdict friendly to telepathy, which is congenial to cherished dramatic values. It is natural enough that the public should accept the endorsements emanating in a few quarters from men who, however competent in their own field, cannot be expected to be conversant with the decisive considerations in this one. The laity functions most legitimately as a jury when it accepts leadership with discrimination. In the present instance it may well give heed to the verdict of representative psychologists who have weighed the evidence and found it wanting; who agree that, in a sense not intended, the structure reared in the Duke laboratory is a house of cards.

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Yiddish Goes to Press

CHARLES A. MADISON

IN 1899 Professor Lee Wiener of Harvard University published *A History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century*. This book was a pioneer work of erudite research, the first comprehensive study of the subject in any language, and brought to light the vigorous and variegated literature created by Jews writing in their mother tongue. Like so many similar products of academic scholarship, however, it found few readers outside the reference room. Even those who took a professional interest in the literatures of the world saw no need to familiarize themselves with Professor Wiener's learned interpretation. Nor were the sporadic attempts at translation discerning enough to encourage publishers to further efforts. Not until Sholem Asch's *Three Cities* was issued in 1933 did our reading public become aware of a new literary province. The book was at once acclaimed as a novel of exceptional merit and soon found a place on "best-seller" lists. Subsequently Asch's *The War Goes On* and I. J. Singer's *The Brothers Ashkenazi* have likewise received critical and popular approval.

Researches made during the past half century by Professor Wiener, B. Boruchov, Max Weinreich and others have uncovered a rich folk literature written in Yiddish before 1800. Perusing the manuscript collections of Europe, concentrating especially on the large library painstakingly gathered about 200 years ago by Rabbi David Oppenheimer of Prague and now reposing in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, these philologists succeeded in tracing the development of the dialect from its first recorded beginnings, in the 13th century, when it was a crude jargon compounded of medieval German and Hebrew, to its acceptance during the Renaissance as the vernacular for popular romances, didactic tracts and those parts of Jewish

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liturgy assigned to women. In the course of the 16th and 17th centuries there appeared a number of volumes in Yiddish which became the staples of every Jewish bookshelf. Chief among these were *Teitsch Chumesh* and *Tseno Ureno* (annotated translations from the Pentateuch), *Maaseh Buch* (a collection of fantastic tales) and *Bove Buch* (an adaptation of Sir Bevis of Southampton). Oral folklore, especially in the forms of the proverb and the folksong, likewise enriched the arid life of the Jewish community. Even the learned Jews, steeped in medieval piety and proud of their knowledge of the "holy tongue," generally relished the rhetorical metaphors and ingenious parables with which the lay preachers spiced their Yiddish sermons on Sabbath afternoons.

Paradoxically enough the period of the enlightened despots in Central Europe reacted unfavorably upon the development of Yiddish literature. These rulers permitted the light of Western culture to shine upon the ghettos within their lands. Soon the new converts to rationalism, overawed by its effulgence and eager to emulate their master Moses Mendelssohn's endeavor to wean the Jews from their medieval orthodoxy, denounced Yiddish as a corrupt and barbarous jargon and urged their people to embrace the language of the land as a means to cultural emancipation. Their success in Germany was complete and in time German supplanted Yiddish as the mother tongue of the Jews of that country.

In the lands to the East, however, the followers of Mendelssohn for many years exerted no influence on the mass of Jews. Egregiously oppressive conditions within the Russian Empire fostered instead the phenomenal growth of the chassidic movement, which began concurrently with Mendelssohn's fight for religious enlightenment. The chassidic teachings, which abetted the sublimation of earthly cares in the elation of religious ecstasy, were enthusiastically accepted by the poverty-stricken masses. And the chassidic rabbis, averse to cold dogma and formalism, rooted in the folkways of the people, condemning the impious assimilationists, not only spoke Yiddish themselves

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but tended even to sanction its employment in prayer. In the end, in their zeal to bring cultural enlightenment within the Jewish Pale, the reformers in Russia and Poland—fighting chassidic degeneracy and eager to get at the people—were themselves forced to make increasing use of the dialect they despised. Unwittingly they refined and enriched it and, in the process, made it a fit tool for literary exploitation.

The Russian massacres of 1881 and at the turn of the century, which sent many thousands of victims helter-skelter to more hospitable lands, helped to spread the use of Yiddish the world over. Huddled together in the dingy tenements of London, New York, and numerous other cities, forced to work long hours in dank sweat-shops, having neither the time nor the will to assimilate the culture of their new environment, these hapless immigrants of necessity had to recreate their old patterns of life wherever they happened to be. Their umbilical attachment to the spiritual sources of their native homeland was strengthened by the Yiddish books and periodicals which they read with nostalgic zeal. Time helped them to establish their own newspapers and magazines, to develop their own writers and journalists. In this country, where the Jews had settled in the greatest numbers, the Yiddish newspapers became before long so integral a part of the "East Side" that even now, after years of intensive Americanization of their audience, they continue to boast a circulation of 360,000 copies daily.

Since the Jews had always been "a people of the book" they no sooner turned their minds away from the synagogue than they initiated a veritable cultural efflorescence. The transition during the 19th century from the ghetto to the highways of Western civilization was streaked with tragedy. Orthodox father fought with rebellious son, reformer with reactionary. The facts of progress hammered away at the citadels of orthodox faith. The pen became the increasingly mighty weapon of the leaders of enlightenment. In Russian, in Hebrew, but more and more in Yiddish, they attacked hypocritical functionaries and superstitious medievalists. They wrote fiery polemics and didactic tracts,

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propagandist fiction and hortative verse. Most of their work is now of historic interest only. But out of this first generation of modern Yiddish writers emerged such major artists as Mendele, Sholem Aleichem and Peretz. If the peculiar idiom and exotic content of their work had not made successful translation a most difficult task these three would without doubt have gained world renown.

Mendele the Bookseller (S. J. Abramovich) began to write in Yiddish because, as a reformer, he wanted to reach the mass of Jews. His first story, published in 1864, exposed the sycophants within the Jewish community. The half dozen works which subsequently came from his pen likewise depicted, with wrathful realism, the extreme poverty of the Jews as well as the ignorance and hypocrisy which leechlike were sucking dry the life-flow of the Jewish poor. He was not only the great satirist, however. His faithful descriptions of nature, his graphic and incisive delineation of character and his vivid storytelling—which gave artistic form to a new and inchoate literature—also mark him a significant writer.

Sholem Aleichem (S. Rabinovitch) who began to write some years later was one of the great world humorists and the most popular of all Jewish writers. More than Mendele even he enriched the language in which he wrote. And if the elder writer is admired for his keen eye and sharp wit, Sholem Aleichem is loved for his mastery of the human heart and for his irrepressible laughter. In truth he had much to laugh at. The Jews of his day were in the midst of social mutation. The ghetto walls were breaking down; the claws of industrialism were tearing at them mercilessly. Bewildered by the age of modernity, unable to distinguish between the real and the apparent, driven by dire poverty to fantastic means of subsistence, Jews could not but behave in a manner at once preposterous and pathetic. Sholem Aleichem, quick to perceive their ludicrous behavior yet fully cognizant of the harsh extremity compelling them to it, dug deep into the comic temper of their plight and brought forth unalloyed and healing humor. In

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story after story his naively likable characters tell their absurd tales with an underlying pathos that grips the heart. All his creations, compounded as they were of reflective experience and artistic expression, are peculiarly Jewish, alive and representative. His work gives a truer insight into the character of his people than that of any other writer.

Of the three masters I. L. Peretz was most the conscious artist, master experimenter in variegated forms. As eager as Mendele to reform his people, he dug into chassidic religiosity with didactic intent but was soon so fascinated by the glamor of its rich legendary folklore that instead of impugning the superstitious bigotry of the medievally-minded chassidim he tended to idealize their intensive veneration of and trust in God. Poet, storyteller, dramatist, critic, publicist, Peretz entered each field as a pioneer and left it in full flower. His style, like his eye, retained its youthful zest to the very end, and it was this vital contribution of full-fledged form to Yiddish literature that established him as its artistic founder.

All Yiddish writers tended to make their characteristic theme the peculiar social status of the Jewish people. Nor could they—especially those remaining in their native Russia and Poland—well help it. Medieval religiosity, rabbinical intolerance, abject poverty, governmental restrictions, recurring pogroms, industrial exploitation—these grievous subjects begged for literary treatment. No Jewish artist could honestly avoid them. And none tried. All aimed, each according to his nature and power, to dissipate the evils of superstition and perversity, to strengthen the hearts of the poor against their oppressors and exploiters.

The East-European Jews, uprooted and bewildered, who reached this country in the last decades of the 19th century came readily under the influence of the reformers and radicals who had likewise fled from the Czar's persecution. These intellectuals, taking advantage of the liberality of our laws, were quick to propagate their advanced views from the lecture platform and by means of the written word. As the number of

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their followers grew they found it possible to publish newspapers and magazines—all devoted to social reform. Most of these periodicals came and went. But the *Forward*, established in 1897 and edited to this day by Abraham Cahan, has from the first been the most influential of Yiddish newspapers. The *Day*, the *Freiheit* and the *Morning Journal* are the other dailies now being published in New York. Their most significant feature is their literary section. In the course of time these sections have serialized not only works of world renown but also the writings of the best Yiddish authors and have thus given the latter both a means of livelihood and a large, devoted audience. Each newspaper engages a number of established poets and storytellers to contribute a poem or a story or a chapter of a novel weekly.

Among the Yiddish writers who came to this country before 1900 Morris Rosenfeld was the first to achieve popular acclaim. His poignant songs of the sweat-shop resounded for years in the teeming tenements of the East Side. He himself was for years a worker in a garment factory and his verse became the fierce, anguished cry of the exploited poor, the poetic outburst against the infernal system which was draining the lifeblood of his fellow immigrants. Time and theme united propitiously to give his poems a prestige beyond their artistic worth—so much so that when Professor Wiener issued a selection of Rosenfeld's verse in prose translation under the title *Songs of the Ghetto* he compared the volume with Dante's "Inferno." Subsequently, however, Rosenfeld's songs have found their true level.

A poet of far greater merit was Yehoash (Solomon Bloomgarten). His mature verse compares favorably in essence and in spirit with the best of modern poetry. His lyrics are austere and sensuous and shrewd. Because his poetic powers developed gradually (he wrote his best verse after forty) an intellectual fervor pervades his writings. All his work, however, is stamped with the newness and nervousness of true modernity. More than Peretz he became the master of versification. He was thus

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able to record the vulgar external restlessness of our machine age with the gusto of a Sandburg and at the same time with the deep inner rhythm of reflective repose. Among his prose writings must be mentioned his Yiddish version of the Old Testament, a work of rare fidelity to the spirit of the original.

David Pinski, another prominent writer of the period, is known mainly for his dramas. Because he lacks the essential quality of self-criticism and tends to view all he does with the indulgence of a fond parent he has not enjoyed the esteem of Jewish readers to the extent of other writers of his stature. He seems unable to tell when his characters pulsate with dramatic reality and when they are stuffed with the chaff of rhetoric. Consequently he has to his credit such truly fine plays as *The Treasure* and *King David and His Wives* and also a dozen others of indifferent merit.

The mass migration unloosed by the massacres of 1903-1905 shook the East Side to its foundations. The sudden influx of Jews brought cultural confusion in its wake. Readjustment and reorientation became imperative. The newcomers found it difficult to accept the ways of those who had preceded them. Gradually, however, the leaven of renewed life burst all bounds and in the decade that followed, the intellectual ferment within the Jewish group remained unique among the immigrant segments of our population. Out of this seething crucible emerged a number of talented youths who soon succeeded in initiating a veritable literary renaissance. These new writers, who came to New York in their callow teens and completed their education in American schools, readily absorbed the freedom and informality of their adopted land and tended to scorn the European yoke that continued to harass their elders, the drabness and didacticism that often marred the writings of their predecessors. Jews and radicals as a matter of course, they wanted to be artists most of all. They began to concentrate on originality of expression, individuality of theme, stylistic refinement, linguistic purity. They became vers librists, introspectivists, imagists, impressionists. In the end their aim exceeded their

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reach. Much of what they wrote lacked substance. Not one attained the prominence of Opatoshu and Leivick, who were of their generation but did not belong to their "schools."

Joseph Opatoshu is the most important of the living writers who came to this country in their youth. His work possesses exceptional thematic vitality. He never repeats himself; in each major novel he has taken a new and significant direction. Outspoken and satirical, his early American stories reflect his acute scorn of slum immigrants—of their spiritual uprootedness, cultural chaos and material crassness. As the years passed, however, he wrote with less bitterness and greater tolerance and forsook the gangsters and the bawds for the normal, nervous Jews of his own environment. His greatest novel, *The Forests of Poland*, soon to appear in English translation, is undoubtedly salient contribution to Yiddish literature.

H. Leivick, Opatoshu's friend and contemporary, is in a class by himself. When he reached New York in 1913, after years of imprisonment and exile in Siberia, he was broken in health and haunted by his prison memories. For many years everything he wrote bore the indelible stamp of his suffering. All his lyrics are fierce and unaffected plaints springing from an agonized soul. His numerous plays are cries of defiance against a society which sanctions oppression and scoffs at idealism. Although *The Golem*, his best work, differs from his other plays in depth and poetic beauty it is basically the same poignant protest against injustice and persecution; the *Golem*, an irresistible instrument of defense in the hands of a pious cabbalist, becomes an anguished soul trying desperately to be free.

When the World War turned Eastern Europe into a bloody shambles the center of Yiddish literature gravitated to New York. The Jewish Pale was trampled by ruthless armies and entire communities were deported into the interior without provision for settlement. Since life was so pathetically precarious, cultural activity became an interrupted dream. Those who could fled to places of relative safety. Sholem Aleichem, Sholem Asch, Abraham Raisen, Peretz Hirshbein were among

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the prominent Yiddish writers who sought asylum in this country. Sympathy for the martyrdom of their brothers across the sea opened wide the purses of the Jews already here and intensified their interest in Jewish affairs. Yiddish books became more than ever a requisite to many of them. The works of the leading writers were issued in handsome sets; Yiddish translations from the best of the world's literature appeared in profusion; volumes of literary criticism, philology, history, philosophy and sociology found a ready market; specialized periodicals and anthologies of various kinds increased in number; newspapers reached their largest circulations. Yiddish writers were stimulated to produce the best that was in them. It appeared indeed that as if by some law of compensation the grievous losses suffered by Yiddish literature in Europe during the years of war and civil strife were being more than retrieved in its new home.

Among the war-time arrivals Sholem Asch towers above his contemporaries. He is also best known to the non-Jewish reading public. Exactly 30 years ago *The God of Vengeance*, his first play, ran successfully in the leading theaters of the Continent. Since then most of his novels have appeared in several languages. Yet he is renowned not because he is an artist of the universal who happens to write in Yiddish but because of his sensuous lyricism that rises from Jewish depths and overflows all racial barriers. Both his merits and his defects grow out of his emotional attachment to his people. He is at his best when writing of the static life of his childhood environment. Then his lyric intensity swells the sluices of village life and animates a host of earthy characters. Yet his recent work, with contemporary Europe as his theme, reveals his firm grasp of reality.

Abraham Raisen, a Lithuanian, is in many respects the antithesis of Sholem Asch. At sixty, after a score of years in New York, he is as circumscribed in his view of the world as when he lived in his native village. His style is counterpart to the meagerness of his Lithuanian environment. His fictional realm

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is narrow, oblique, lowly, the people inhabiting it being mostly humble and penurious, small-town types interested primarily in their immediate plebeian needs and aware of little beyond the commonplace. Yet within his orbit Raisen is a gifted writer. Much of his verse has the spontaneity of the folksong. His early short stories are saturated with the irony of quiescent suffering. He excels in his portrayal of meek Jews reduced by hunger into humble and dispirited creatures. Although this subtle irony loses its pithiness in the sketches of American life, where hunger becomes less significant and where stress is laid more upon incident than upon character, they too are marked by the intuitive directness and literary skill with which his name has become associated.

Peretz Hirshbein is like Raisen in that he is a product of the bleak Lithuanian village and like Asch in that he is most the artist when he writes of the rustic Jew, but the similarity goes no further, for unlike either he is markedly the esthete. He is of a roving, highly fanciful nature, has traversed the earth more than once, and has reported his sensitive impressions in diverse volumes. From the outset he has been most attracted to the theater. His apprenticeship in it was long and painstaking. Overawed by the prestige of the European dramatists currently in the limelight, he tended to reflect them in theme and treatment, but the result was unfortunate and none of the plays he wrote possessed the integrity and aliveness of the models he emulated. It was only when he began to depict the life of the countrified Lithuanian Jews that he found his true medium. *A Wayside Nook*, *The Haunted Inn* and *Green Fields* are unique in their originality and idyllic rusticity. When these plays were produced in New York shortly after the War they achieved conspicuous popular success.

The stringent immigration laws enacted by Congress in the early twenties have reduced the inflow of Jews to a mere trickle. This restriction and the recent intensive process of Americanization among the Jews already here could not but affect the development of Yiddish literature adversely. Jewish cultural

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institutions continue to thrive; Yiddish newspapers have lost little of their circulation and influence. Yet there is no mistaking the intellectual quiescence within Jewish circles. Books written here are for the most part published in Europe; Yiddish theaters have ceased to attract their one-time large audiences; popular lecturers can no longer depend on sufficient auditors to make their tours successful. Yiddish is heard less commonly than before and many who know English incorrectly or only slightly insist on speaking it in public. The younger generation, much more self-conscious, has never mastered its mother tongue. Those among them who feel the urge to write turn to English as their authentic medium. Of the few youths who still prefer to make use of Yiddish none as yet displays the qualities of literary distinction which marked their elders. And although the older authors maintain their normal productivity, they find themselves turning more and more to their native lands not only for publishers but also for appreciative readers. The editors of the Yiddish newspapers, ever on the alert for new material, likewise fix their eyes on Eastern Europe; now and then they even go to the trouble of bringing to this country those writers who appear truly promising.

Among these latest newcomers I. J. Singer has most distinguished himself. The merits and limitations of his fiction are obvious to those who have read *The Sinner* and *The Brothers Ashkenazi* in the fine translations of Maurice Samuel. As a storyteller Singer is vivid, dynamic, realistic. But his psychological insight is not always acute or impeccable. Although the force of his narrative keeps the reader's interest at a high pitch, his writing lacks the lyrical warmth and simple earthiness of Asch's best work. Singer tends to depict character by bald contrast nor is he beyond making use of coincidence and a naive form of heredity to further the purposes of his narrative. These blemishes, however, become lost in the swells of storytelling. His work, moreover, not only pulsates with crescent vitality but also stings with the barbs of satire. In "Pearls," his first important story, a money lender is etched in acid; *The*

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Sinner beneath its murky mysticism is a caustic criticism of chassidic obliquity; *The Brothers Ashkenazi* is primarily an unsparing analysis of capitalistic greed and disillusioned idealism. If in these works Singer manifests little of Asch's all-embracing sympathy he also avoids the latter's lush sentimentalism. Isaak Bashevis, Singer's younger brother, and Kadia Molodovsky, the first significant woman poet, both recent arrivals in New York, are young writers of unusual promise.

The lure of American liberality will undoubtedly bring other writers of merit—for Eastern Europe remains the source of Yiddish creativeness. There the language continues to be the mother tongue of the large mass of Jews; there new names frequently appear among the contributors to the literary periodicals. In the USSR Yiddish is the official Jewish language; more than ever before it is the medium of the expanding cultural activities of the Russian Jews. Although no writer of outstanding merit has emerged in recent years—just as no first-rate novelist has as yet appeared among the Soviet Russians—time and circumstance are definitely favorable to literary progress. Polish Jews persist heroically in their cultural activity (although in some respects they are even more oppressed than the Jews of Nazi Germany), and despite their extreme poverty have become the publishers for Yiddish writers the world over. They do not forget that Asch and Opatoshu and the Singer brothers are native sons and that they continue to draw on Poland for their material. Yiddish writing in the smaller adjacent lands, such as Lithuania and Rumania, is relatively negligible.

This account of the scope and vitality of modern Yiddish literature may be corroborated by a reading of that part of it already in translation. Such a reading will also indicate that Yiddish writers have probed deeply into the character of their people and have depicted its many vicissitudes and aspirations with great realistic art. Within the short span of two generations they have created a body of writing that compares favorably with the literature of any other minor national group.

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More Blessed to Get!

FRANCIS A. HARDING

THE essence of free government lies in the right of petition. Although all Americans pay the customary obeisance to "democracy" not all admit that the United States is in danger of despotism, and of those that do few realize why. The real peril lies in the abuse of the right of petition by thousands, literally thousands of pressure groups, lobbies, organized minorities—call them what you will—representing every conceivable current of human thought, no matter how bizarre; infesting every town, every county seat, every state capital, in addition to Washington itself; and using every imaginable means from bribery to begging and humbuggery to attain countless species of privilege as varied as the charms of Cleopatra. Six hundred are listed in the Washington Telephone Directory alone, but these do not include those groups in other cities which send men to Washington "for the season" or which attain their aims elsewhere. The Manhattan Directory lists over 1500, Chicago 500. From Boston's 200 comes the Home Market Club, one of the most persistent and effective pressure groups in the land; while St. Louis harbors the Mississippi Valley Association, no mean force in deflecting an annual torrent of federal money into the Mississippi basin. From all over the countryside, like Chinese guerillas which nip and prick their foe and bleed him white, pressure groups ride hard on Washington or on their state capitals, make their attack, then melt into the back hills—free Americans all, exercising their sacred right of petition.

A pressure group is an organization whose main purpose it is to have something done *for* instead of *by* a small minority. A few individuals, believing they deserve some favor from the public, call together all the others who they believe should

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also qualify. They form the National Association of Something-or-Other, complete with president, anywhere from one to ten vice-presidents, treasurer, salaried executive secretary, paid staff, and members—life, associate, sustaining, active and just plain. They then appoint a "public relations committee" to establish an emotional symbol or to devise slogans, an "executive committee" to decide on the method to be used in getting the desired favor and a "legislative committee" to get it. Then they take their place among all the other pressure groups, stretch out their palms to the people and join in the bedlam of "gimme"!

Of course to read the "literature" of any pressure group is to conclude that the sum total of all human selfishness since Adam is embodied in its particular and current opponent. Rapacity, however, is not confined to any one economic or social segment of humanity but is rather evenly distributed throughout. The fact is that Organized Labor is no less grasping than is Big Business, or farmers than bankers, or teachers than veterans—and vice versa. The motive of the United Shoe Workers in demanding tariff protection against Czechoslovakian shoes is neither better nor worse than but identical with that of the National Boot and Shoe Association in making the same request. Though all pressure groups—farm, labor, educational, charitable, business, age, youth, veteran—though all bow to the "American standard of living" their every demand is aimed at making the lives of a minority easier at the expense of the American standard of living.

"All things are measured by money" said Aristotle—and among them privilege. Cash therefore is the clearest, most concrete, most to be desired form of privilege because it is the standard by which all others are measured. And since the American Legion sought and received from Congress a cash bonus the Legion has become to most people the standard for all pressure groups. Our war-heroes, supposedly the best and finest of our citizens, descended in a well-organized swarm upon the Federal Treasury with twice the continuity of pur-

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pose than ever they had as individual soldiers in France (or at Plattsburg)—and with complete indifference as to the state of the public purse or as to whether the money was to come from rich or poor, present or future generations. Their smoothness in using the term "Adjusted Service Compensation" to describe the bonus—a bonus in return for a service for which they were paid wages better than the average for the day (and which they themselves said and still say they performed as a matter of duty some 20 years ago)—would raise the American Legion to preeminence in any field of organized selfishness. Yet these things fade in the public mind beside the fact that the Legion demanded and got the greatest of all privilege, immediate cash.

But the fact that the perfect pressure group got the perfect privilege should in no way obscure the activities of the multitude of other pressure groups no less avid but perhaps more deft in their appeal to the public bounty. For instance the United Automobile Workers demand and get, not, it is true, immediate cash but the next best thing, a weekly raise in wages. The use of the term "wages" must not hide the fact that the money comes to the members of the United Automobile Workers, not in return for some increased service but for nothing whatever—less indeed than that consideration proffered by the American Legion since the Automobile Workers propose to work less hours than they did before and, moreover, prohibit any "speed-up" to make up the loss in time. To be sure they use a different though hardly less effective method of exerting pressure, the "sit-down" strike; but after all, since this is only one of many means to the same end it is of small import. And the fact that the workers bring their pressure to bear upon the General Motors Company, say, instead of upon the official representatives of the people, Congress, has little bearing upon the harsh reality that either agent for collection must levy from the people—the one in higher taxes, the other in higher prices—the necessary funds to pay the tribute.

Hardly less to be desired than the privilege of a cash grant

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is that of a cash subsidy. Among the many candidates for this type of privilege are the American Manganese Producers. Manganese has been admitted to that select circle, "strategic materials." Consequently the American Manganese Producers think the government should be authorized to buy, exclusively from domestic producers, 1,000,000 tons of manganese per year for a war-time emergency stock-pile—though Mr. J. Carson Adkerson, president of the association, said "Of course, we could not supply 1,000,000 tons a year." The price was to be 70 cents per unit though the present price is but 66 cents. The same gentleman testified, interestingly enough, that a profitable price during a "fair, normal period (1925-29!) was 68 cents and is on record as admitting that "some production will come forward at 60 cents"; and a Mr. M. B. Gentry has testified that his firm, the American Manganese Company, was "able to make money in 1937." Thus this bill (Miller—S3460) would have the American people buy the total domestic yearly supply of this metal "essential to our National Defence" and "without which our Navy and our Army would be helpless" at a price fixed higher than that which brought profit during the "normal years of 1925-29." Patriots preaching preparedness—at a price!

The Associated General Contractors and the American Road Builders Association are still other candidates for a cash subsidy from the people. Those who are inclined to blame or credit the present administration as the instigator of the "pump-priming" theory of recovery had best examine the activities of these two organizations. President Roosevelt's Budget Message to Congress in 1936 recommended the postponement of the Federal Highway Aid to states in the interest of federal economy; the Associated General Contractors immediately "recommended a four-year program for highway construction" and got a three-year program. Likewise on November 30th, 1937 President Roosevelt sent another economy message to Congress advising a cut of $175,000,000 in federal highway spending. The next day saw a protest against this proposal

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from the American Road Builders Association with the old obbligato "Business needs pump-priming to stave off depression." The philosophy of both, and indeed of all, pressure groups was well summarized in this paragraph from a pamphlet published by the American Road Builders Association:

> Highway contractors as a group have millions of dollars invested in plant and equipment. A cessation or decrease of the highway program renders this equipment valueless. *To preserve the highway contractor's equity in his plant and business, highway construction must be continued* (italics mine).

Cash privilege, however, whether in bonus, wage, or subsidy form, is a little too obvious for all groups to succeed in getting it. The next most acceptable form of privilege lies in the destruction of competition. In horse-racing, where large sums of money are involved and much is at stake, those who have placed a fortune on one horse sometimes seek to insure its victory by secretly placing extra heavy horseshoes on any rival horse that offers serious competition. Likewise in the world of work, when those who are engaged in bringing a certain commodity or service to the people are threatened by others who can do it more quickly, cheaply or efficiently, the first group seeks to place heavy horseshoes upon the second by imposing a tax or other obstacle upon the ease and efficiency with which the latter operates. Thus the faster horse, and the more efficient worker or set of workers, is handicapped and the field is left open to the weaker.

For example, when it is suggested that the heavy duties on British textile machinery be lightened the National Association of Textile Machinery Manufacturers protests. For as the bonus is to the American Legion and the cash subsidy to the American Manganese Producers, so is the protective tariff to the National Association of Textile Machinery Manufacturers. In a wool-combing plant in New England there are two carding machines, one British and the other American. The British card though manufactured 30 years ago does the job more quickly and thoroughly than the American which is only five

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years old, it does not break down so often, and when it does it is easier to fix. Hence British carding machines become "unfair foreign competition" to the National Association of Textile Machinery Manufacturers and their purchase by American combing mills is discouraged by the imposition of a duty. In this way both a higher price and the poor work that results from the required use of the less efficient machine are passed on to the American public—and this to "protect the American standard of living."

The privilege of destroying competition, however, is not confined to protection from foreign goods. In Illinois there has been formed a group of business men, called the Illinois Reciprocal Trade Association, who have united with the local branch of the United Mine Workers "to direct the buying power of Illinois to the commodities of manufacturers who use natural resources of Illinois, or otherwise provide employment for Illinois labor." It appears that natural gas, piped in from other states, has made the blunder of increasing its consumption in Illinois from 3.1 million cubic feet in 199 to over 65 billion cubic feet in 1936, thus "destroying the market for coal, and along with the coal the jobs of almost 10,000 miners." Consequently the two organizations have combined in declaring "relentless warfare upon natural gas and fuel oil—*laborless intruders from distant states* [italics mine]—that have deprived the Illinois coal industry of annual production estimated at ten million tons." The "relentless warfare" consists in urging the passage of a law placing a tax of 5 cents on every 1000 feet of natural gas piped into Illinois from "foreign" states. Though an increasingly large segment of the population of Illinois have manifested their preference for natural gas, in terms which are unmistakable, the two pressure groups have vetoed their choice and from now on instead of "Buy American" the cry will be "Buy Illinois."

Likewise to protect the standard of living of the beet sugar farmers in Colorado, Nebraska, Utah and Michigan the National Beet Growers Association, the Mountain State Beet

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Growers Association (whose president and former paid lobbyist is now chairman of the House sub-committee on sugar) and the Eastern Beet Sugar Growers Association have persuaded Congress to enact a system of "quotas" which requires those who grow cane sugar in Florida, Louisiana, Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippine Islands—all parts of the United States—to restrict their production. Oh yes! There is, indeed, a quota for the beet sugar growers too: a quota some 200 tons above the average beet sugar production for the past five years. Hawaii's quota, however, is under its capacity to produce by 150,000 tons and Florida, according to the chairman of the sub-committee, "is not allowed to produce as much sugar as they consume in the state." The law is enforced by denying to those cane sugar growers who exceed their quotas the sacred right of all good sugar growers to dip their hands into the federal trough of "bounty payments"—persuasion more compelling by far than any mere coercion could ever be.

The money for bounty payments is to be levied from the refiners by an excise tax. The sugar lobbyists swear the consumer will not pay. Mr. Kearney of the National Beet Growers' Association throws up his hands and says "That is an economic question which I have heard discussed and never answered satisfactorily," while his colleague, Mr. Wilson, soothes the sub-committee with the words "We feel that the payment is an economic adjustment between processors and growers. . . ." There is, however, one candid man, Mr. Clarence Bitting, whose company, the United States Sugar Corporation, got the largest bounty check in the United States ($1,250,000) under the old law. His testimony was: "We desire to record our objection to legislation that legalizes a raid, by special interests, on the Public Treasury, even if, as this legislation provides, we are entitled to membership in the raiding party." Actually the American people pay $410,000,000 annually in consumers' sugar taxes to save a domestic crop, worth $34,000,000 (international price) and produced by one sugar farmer out of every 143 farmers—and all, as Mr. Kearney

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said in his testimony, so that "American standards of living can be restored to our farmers and the rehabilitation of American agriculture accomplished."

The destruction of competition is so ruthless, however, that mere state lines are disregarded and the warfare becomes intestine: one section of an industry attacks another. The National Association of Retail Grocers, spurred by the divine right of small business men to sell at high prices, denounced as a consequence of "unfair competition" the approximate annual saving of $500,000,000 given the American public in the cost of food by the "big chains." By bringing pressure on the 48 state legislatures, this organization has succeeded in raising the number of states which have enacted anti-chain store legislation from five in 1929 to 21 in 1936. This legislation generally takes the form of a $2 tax on all stores; but for each store in a chain of ten, say, the tax becomes $25; for each in a chain of 25, $100; and of 100, $500. Moreover in 1937 the United States Supreme Court helped out by upholding the Louisiana chain store tax, which graduated the excise tax not according to the number of stores any particular chain may have operated in Louisiana alone but according to the total number of stores in the chain. Such is the treatment the National Association of Retail Grocers accords those of its own kind who commit the heresy of giving service for low prices to the public.

Likewise, though "the fundamental objective of the American Farm Bureau Federation . . . has been to secure and maintain for the farmers of the nation a fair and equitable portion of the national income," the Federation evidently does not think "justice" can be extended to all farmers. One must be the proper sort; one must not grow cottonseed, soybeans or other vegetables whose oil is processed into margarine. For on top of the pyramid of taxes already laid on margarine (the present 100 per cent federal tax of 10 cents per pound, plus the special license taxes paid by the retailers, the wholesalers, and the manufacturers of margarine, plus the state taxes rang-

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ing from 5 cents to 15 cents) the Federation would impose an "additional excise tax of five cents per pound" to "protect the dairy industry against *unfair competition* [italics mine] from substitutes for butter, such as oleomargarine." This is strange. One might readily expect special consideration for dairy farmers from the South Dakota Dairy Association, sponsors of the 10-cent tax on shortening in that state, or from the National Dairy Council or the Dairy Industry Committee; but just why the American Farm Bureau Federation, purporting to represent *all* farmers, should thus discriminate against certain of their own kind must remain a deep mystery sunk within the minds of the men who lead the farmers. But the poignant fact that any tax on margarine is, and must necessarily be, directed primarily against the "ill-fed one-third of the population" is no mystery since who but the 6,000,000 families with incomes less than $1000 per year buy margarine? Taxes are not and cannot be confined to the rich; and no tax brings this out so strikingly as does this drain on the meager pocket-books of the destitute. No tax exhibits so vividly the utter helplessness of the unorganized many, particularly when they have no money to advertise their plea; no tax could so clearly show that justice among pressure groups is a matter of power and of organization. Poor America! That it harbors groups of citizens who can embrace the hypocrisy necessary to make such requests as these on grounds of "justice"! All that is needed is the barbarian, Brennus, to cast his sword into the scales and to cry "Woe to the vanquished!"

For I have not begun to indicate the enormity either of the number of pressure groups or of the tribute they gather. The National Beet Sugar Growers Association is but one out of 45 groups all of whom asked for some special favor in addition to what the bill already offered—and this at but one hearing on but one bill. Of these 45 only three opposed it because it wrought injustice to the American people. What, pray, can be the cost of all the boundless bonuses, increased wages, subsidies, tariffs, quotas and discriminatory taxes demanded by all

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the endless thousands of pressure groups, from the Conference of Mayors to the People's Lobby, from the American Steamship Owners to the Independent Song-Writers of America, from the Townsend Clubs to the American Youth Congress, from the International Association of Police Women to the Good Citizens' Association of Squeedunk, Podunk, or what you will—but why go on? The list is infinite, like Banquo's issue which made Macbeth cry out "What, will the line stretch out to the crack of doom?"

Nor can the tribute always be counted in money. The C.I.O., to be sure, boasts of having gained increased wages "in excess of $1,000,000,000 to union workers." But who can compute the money-cost to the public of a century of "laissez-faire," still so zealously urged by the Chamber of Commerce? Who can reckon in dollars and cents the scorn for law engendered by the severity of restrictions that were imposed at the behest of the Anti-Saloon League; the damage to one's right to own property, inflicted by the rent strike of the United Automobile Workers; the harm to public health stemming from false notions of freedom held by the Medical Liberty League? And what of the stamina of the coming generation who are learning the power of political pressure from that greatest of all teachers, the example of their parents? Can these things be measured in cash?

And how can we figure the cost of human misery under the despotism that will come unless the demands of the pressure groups are restrained. For since the cost of all of them cannot be met, restrained they must be—nay—will be: if not by the pressure groups themselves or by the people, then by a dictator. Free government is for strong men only—men who meet and solve their problems themselves; who resort to pleas only in rare matters of principle. Despotism is for the soft, whose demands for indulgence have passed beyond all reason and have rendered them unfit for the right of petition—and of free government.

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The Fight for Clarity: Logical Empiricism

ERNEST NAGEL

TO BE a philosopher, as everyone knows, literally means to be a lover of wisdom. Aristotle declared that philosophic activity begins with wonder and when successful terminates in wisdom. Aristotle's own writings, however, are concerned in large measure with matters which today are no longer the province of the professional philosopher. Few contemporary philosophers are in the position to contribute as he did to biology, psychology, politics, physics, or even logic; and if perchance they should make discoveries in these fields they would do so in the capacity of scientists rather than philosophers. To be a philosopher in the sense that Aristotle was one when he classified animal life, described types of organic behavior or discussed the characteristics of various forms of government is to be indistinguishable from a scientist in the modern sense of this term. The proud title of Newton's great work illustrates the persistence (at least until recently) of the view that to be a lover of wisdom and to be a searcher for principles which reveal an order in the flux of things is to be one and the same sort of person.

Most philosophers, however, are unwilling to identify their function with that exercised by the natural and social scientists. What subject matter do philosophers take for their own and what tasks do they set themselves with respect to it? The question is all the more pressing because many inquiries which at one time were exclusively cultivated by philosophers have gradually established themselves as independent disciplines. Thus within the memory of living men psychology has slowly separated itself from philosophy and has become a natural sci-

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ence associated with biology and anthropology. In our own day formal logic, traditionally a part of philosophy, is becoming so specialized that in the near future perhaps only men with a thorough mathematical training will be capable of following its development. In terms of specialized subject matter, ethics and esthetics seem to be the sole remaining philosophic disciplines. But few if any philosophers would consent to such a whittling down of their fields of legitimate activity. It seems imperative, therefore, to specify a content to "wisdom," so that to seek it is not to seek the same sort of things which it is the distinctive task of the special sciences to discover.

Philosophers themselves are at variance as to the "proper" task of philosophy. Many students of the history of philosophy agree, however, that the great texts in philosophy are best understood when viewed as so many reflections upon issues raised by the scientific and social developments of their day. The practice, if not always the explicit intent, of a great deal of philosophy has been to function as a *commentary* on the intellectual life of man—a commentary whose object is to bring some order and clarity into the propositions certified by the sciences or sanctioned by social needs. The commentaries which philosophers have provided have often been confused and unintelligible: they have frequently proved obstacles to clear conceptions of nature and man and have turned out to be fresh occasions for wonder. Nonetheless, the historical fact that so much of philosophy has been a reflection upon science and society suggests that the business of philosophy is not that of adding to the sum of our knowledge of nature, in the sense in which the sciences add to that knowledge, but of *clarifying* such knowledge. The "wisdom" of Aristotle, accordingly, is not to be identified with his encyclopedic knowledge or with his speculative interpretation of the science and society of his day; it is to be found in the careful distinctions he drew between the meanings of terms current in his day, and in the light his analyses throw on the confusions that arise when the distinctions are not respected. The task of philosophy, from

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this point of view, is not to supply a cosmogony or cosmology: its task, which may be pursued by professional scientists no less than by professional philosophers, is to serve as a cathartic to men's beliefs and ideas. In other words, according to this conception of philosophy its aim is to perfect principles of logic and method and to exercise them upon the various statements occurring in everyday discourse and the sciences.

It has, however, been said of philosophers and men of science that they begin to discuss method only when they have nothing more interesting to talk about or when they are incapable of successfully attacking the problems set by a determinate subject-matter. Yet few judgments on the history of thought are confirmed by less evidence than that which supports such dicta. An endless list of distinguished men of science with strong interests in methodology (for example Aristotle, Newton, Leibniz, Einstein, Bohr) confirms the contrary thesis —that the examination of the methodological assumptions of science goes hand in hand with the production of great works of science, and that methodological studies flourish in those periods when scientific activity is itself most intense. The judicious reader of history will not be surprised that the past third of the century, which has witnessed so many remarkable changes in scientific theories, has also seen professional scientists and philosophers devoting their energies to a systematic exploration of the procedures of science. The break in intellectual habits entailed by radical alterations in scientific conceptions raises in acute forms the perennial questions concerning the ground of our knowledge and the import of what we know.

Recent discussions of methodology, unlike some of the traditional essays into this subject, have not sought a set of rules with whose help men of even mediocre talents might discover the secrets of nature kept hidden from their more gifted ancestors. Such attempts to find a master-key to the problems of science have uniformly ended in failure. For the most part contemporary interest in scientific method is actuated by different motives. The increased abstractness and generality of

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modern science require a serious reconsideration and a recasting of those relatively simple canons of intelligibility and validity which are sufficient for the needs of every-day discourse and inquiry. What do we mean when we affirm or deny the existence of absolute space, or when we declare that energy has a momentum and a velocity, or when we debate whether the economic organization of a nation determines political and scientific activities? What do we measure when we calculate the distances or temperatures of the stars, the number of atoms in a volume of gas or the intelligence of our neighbors? What kind of evidence, and how much of it, suffices to establish the various propositions asserted in the name of science, and what distinguishes the authority which pronouncements in the natural sciences enjoy at present from the claims made in the social sciences? To answer such questions we cannot fall back upon every-day practices and habitual intuitions for aid, and most professional scientists are not sufficiently conscious of their own procedures to enlighten us; special studies must be undertaken by men sensitive to the logical issues involved. Recent methodological studies aim to supply appropriate answers and their main objectives are therefore the following: the careful analysis, formulation and expansion of those intellectual techniques which have been found reliable for controlling our conjectures about the world we inhabit; the appraisal of the import of science and of the conditions for its successful activity; the analysis of scientific concepts and the formulation of logical standards for distinguishing meaningful statements and questions from those which have no accredited meaning.

The movement known at present as "logical empiricism" is a loosely-organized group of philosophers and scientists interested in such problems of methodology. Logical empiricists are committed whole-heartedly to the belief that the logical techniques employed in the various sciences, especially in the natural sciences, provide the only means for obtaining genuine knowledge and intellectual clarity; and they are devoted to analyzing those techniques and applying them zealously to

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clarifying the larger issues of science and philosophy. Although logical empiricism is usually associated with the doctrines professed by members of what was known as the "Vienna Circle" it is today by no means the philosophy of a local school and its connections with Vienna are now only of historical interest.

Fifteen years ago a number of men in Vienna began to meet regularly under the leadership of Moritz Schlick, late professor of philosophy at the University of Vienna, in order to discuss problems of scientific method and general philosophy. This circle included from the very beginning not only professional philosophers but also men engaged in the actual work of almost every one of the special sciences. Its members were decidedly hostile to the romantic philosophies of Kant, Schelling and Hegel. They were influenced on the one hand by the writings of such eminent men of science as Boltzmann, Duhem, Mach and Poincaré, and on the other hand by the purely logical contributions of Frege, Russell and Wittgenstein. Moreover they were acutely conscious of the fact that language is not only an indispensable tool for achieving congruent behavior and communication; they recognized that language could also be a snare because words are frequently combined to form grammatically correct sentences although no meaning controllable by the acknowledged procedures of the well-established science involved can be assigned to them. The general tone of the group was therefore unquestionably empirical, an attitude for which the history and traditions of Vienna formed a congenial setting. The Circle undertook a systematic house-cleaning of traditional philosophic speculations; and it showed without much difficulty that many of the problems, and proposed solutions to them which philosophers have discussed, make an unintelligible paradox out of knowledge and an irresolvable mystery out of man's relation to his physical and social environment. The Circle soon discovered similarly oriented thinkers in other countries, in Europe as well as in America; and presently the periodical *Erkenntnis* became a sort of semi-official organ of the tendencies they represented.

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At present the Vienna Circle no longer exists. A number of its original members have been distributed throughout the four corners of the world for many years and what still remained of the Circle was completely dissolved upon the tragic death of its leader three years ago. It has been replaced by a movement with an international character. It has strong roots in the scientific, empirical traditions of the countries where it finds representatives and is related in outlook to indigenous naturalistic philosophies in them. Nevertheless the original members of the Vienna Circle have continued to make important contributions to the international movement. They have shown by example how to fuse the use of refined logical techniques successfully with a biological, social approach to the problems of knowledge and scientific method. They have organized yearly international congresses to promote the study of the interdependence of the various special sciences and of the continuity of their logical methods. They have projected an encyclopedia of human knowledge, now finally under way,[1] which will exhibit the unity of the sciences, illustrate their methods and discuss frankly the problems still awaiting solution. By their writings and formulations of issues they have determined to a large extent the direction of the researches carried on by individuals within the logical empiricist movement. The permanent influence of the Vienna Circle upon logical empiricism is manifest in the steady concern of the movement with the analysis of language and symbolism, and in the central position it assigns to the theory of meaning and verification.

The remainder of this paper will be devoted almost entirely to this central problem—namely, to the discussion of the criteria for distinguishing meaningful statements and questions concerning matters of fact from those which are meaningless. Logical empiricists used to resolve this problem by declaring that the meaning of a statement is constituted by the methods

[1] *The International Encyclopedia of Unified Science*, the first two volumes of which are now appearing under the imprint of the University of Chicago Press.

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employed for verifying it: a statement was said to be meaningless if it was incapable of being definitely established as true or false by sensory observation. For various reasons of detail this view is now recognized to be unsatisfactory. Indeed the proper question is not "*what* does a statement mean?" but "what are the conditions which empiricists will acknowledge to be necessary for a statement to have meaning?"

We assume that our language contains a set of terms which are employed in accordance with well-established conventions and which are such that a few direct and simple observations enable us to decide whether or not a given situation may be characterized by one of them. This set of terms will be called the "observation terms" of the language. No one has even attempted to enumerate the observation terms in actual use although in principle it is possible to do so. However everyone will probably agree that terms like "smooth," "red," "heavier than," are observation terms, whereas the terms "atom," "light-ray," "God" are not. Many sentences in our language contain only observation terms, connected by familiar logical connectives. Such sentences usually raise no serious questions as to what they mean; we know what they mean because we know how to use them, so that on suitable occasions we affirm or deny them with a fair degree of agreement among ourselves. However, there are occasions both in daily life as well as in the sciences when we assert sentences containing no observation terms at all. For example, the sentence "the force between two molecules is inversely proportional to the cube of the distance between them" does not contain observation terms in the sense indicated. Everyone will agree that such sentences do have meaning. On the other hand, how can we distinguish such sentences from other sentences which most people will admit mean nothing at all, such as the statement "all distances contract every night by one-tenth of their original length"? Terms which are not observation terms must be related to those which are. Consequently, the conditions for meaningful statements will have to be specified by analyzing these relations and by

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indicating how new terms which are not observation terms may be introduced into our language. Such analyses have been made, but are too technical to be discussed here. The general import, however, of these analyses for the theory of meaning may be stated as follows: If a statement does not consist entirely of observation terms it is empirically meaningful if and only if, with the help of observation data and rules of logic, other statements are deducible from it so that statements capable of direct confirmation are finally obtained. A sentence which is alleged to report matters of fact but which is incapable of yielding such consequences is empirically meaningless. Furthermore, a sentence which has the grammatical form of a question but is such that no empirically meaningful statement could ever be an "answer" to it must be dismissed as a meaningless combination of words. In terms of the suggested criterion the "question" "can we ever know the external world?" and the dictum "our minds can only be acquainted with things inside themselves, never with things outside" are both empirically meaningless expressions.

Something must now be said to prevent certain misunderstandings of this theory of meaning. As already indicated, the Vienna Circle at one time subscribed to the view that only such statements are meaningful as can be definitively and finally established as true or false by a direct appeal to sensory facts. This view committed those who held it to the belief in what are called "atomic facts," alleged to be ultimate, absolute simples. Such a belief is historically allied with the atomistic psychology of Locke and Hume. However, contemporary psychology has amply shown that the conception of knowledge and the method of achieving it entailed by psychological atomism is altogether inadequate. The theory of meaning outlined above must not be confused with the earlier views of logical empiricists. Few if any logical empiricists today accept the latter. On the contrary, those who subscribe to the present form of the theory of meaning emphasize the fact that all statements are theoretically corrigible, even if in practice some statements do

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not happen to require subsequent correction. The present form of the theory of meaning of logical empiricism coincides, in part at least, with the doctrine of fallibilism of the American philosopher Charles S. Peirce. Logical empiricists, like Peirce, can eschew claims to finality without embracing a sterile scepticism because they place their faith, as he did, in the self-corrective method of science and not in any one conclusion reached by it. Allowing for differences in idiom, logical empiricists would accept his penetrating remarks that

> respectable and cultivated persons who, having acquired their notions of science from reading, and not from research, have the idea that "science" means knowledge, while the truth is, it is a misnomer applied to the pursuit of those who are devoured by a desire to find things out. In those sciences which are least subject to error, no man of self-respect ever now states his result, without affixing to it its probable error; and if this practice is not followed in other sciences it is because in those the probable errors are too vast to be estimated.

It must also be noted that contemporary empiricism, unlike that of Ernst Mach, does *not* maintain that only those sentences which consist entirely of observation terms are meaningful or have a legitimate rôle in the sciences. Mach is one of the spiritual fathers and heroes of the Vienna Circle; and Mach rejected the atomic theory of matter because of his dogmatic though ambiguous sensationalism. It is a serious mistake to suppose, however, as many thinkers have been persuaded to, that logical empiricists are committed to Mach's rejection of scientific theories which are incapable of a *direct* confirmation. Furthermore, the theory of meaning set forth above is not just another version of familiar "reductive" theses which have plagued the history of philosophy for centuries. It is a complete misunderstanding of logical empiricism to say, as some have done, that according to it the sun is nothing but our sensations of it, or that atoms are not real and are merely convenient fictions for describing the succession of our sensations. The verification theory of meaning stated above is a *logical postulate* which requires statements to be confirmable; it is not

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a thesis concerning "reality." Logical empiricists decline to attribute "reality" to atoms, not because they espouse a contrary view but because statements ascribing or denying "reality" to atoms do not conform to the conditions for meaningful statements. Stated differently, logical empiricists declare that the two statements "atoms are real" and "atoms have a diameter of one one-millionth of a millimeter" are not on par. For in the context of physical theories and techniques no confirmable consequences are derivable from the first whereas such consequences are derivable from the second. The predication of "reality" does not therefore add anything to our knowledge of the behavior of atoms, while the attribution of certain diameters to them does. Similarly, the thesis of logical empiricism is not that the sun is nothing but our sensations; its thesis is that statements containing the term "sun," if they are to be meaningful, must be capable of having determinate consequences derived from them with the help of the apparatus of logic—consequences such that at some point in the series of deductions, sentences containing observation terms will occur.

A slight qualification of the above theory of meaning leads to *physicalism*, another doctrine professed by most logical empiricists. According to physicalism it is possible to construct a language which will concern itself with the public behavior of things; and such a language will be adequate for every task which science may set for itself. Perhaps the point of physicalism is best understood when it is contrasted with views hostile to it. There have been and are philosophers and scientists who claim that the method and "categories" of the natural sciences are not adequate for exploring all realms of nature. They maintain that in history, sociology, and even in psychology and biology, an "objective," behavioristic account of events is not sufficient; and they hold that for a deeper understanding of the subject matters explored in these disciplines we must cultivate appreciative insights into human motivations and purposes—insights which are not confirmable by observations on

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the overt behavior of organic beings. Now physicalism rejects the implied dichotomy between the natural and social sciences and shows in detail how *statements* in the latter are "reducible" to statements containing observation terms referring to the public characters of things. Physicalism does not deny that there are such things as purposes, emotions or conscious objectives; it does not maintain, even by implication, that these matters are "nothing but" the clash of atoms or a configuration of electrons in the brain, about which we happen to know very little at present. It does assert that all terms required in any of the disciplines concerned with man can be so introduced that the sufficient, and in some cases the necessary and sufficient, conditions for the application of such terms can be specified by way of overt, gross behaviors of human beings.

Partly as a consequence of physicalism, logical empiricists who subscribe to it go on to affirm the essential unity of the various sciences—the unity of their logical methods and the continuity of their languages. Logical empiricists readily acknowledge that the departmentalization of sciences may be essential and advisable in order to facilitate the advance of our knowledge; but they deny that the subject matters explored by them necessitate conceptions of intelligibility and validity for the social sciences which are incomparable with those that prevail in the natural sciences. Moreover they point out that for making reliable predictions in human affairs we are compelled to employ information which does not fall into the domains conveniently marked off as the province of the social sciences. Consequently the erection of theoretical barriers to the application of the methods of the natural sciences not only obfuscates the character of historical and sociological investigations but is bound in the long run to hinder the fruitful development of the latter. Perhaps no intellectual tendency is more dangerous than that accompanying the claim that knowledge of human affairs is the exclusive property of men endowed with a "higher insight"—which is not subject to the control of well-established experimental methods.

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It should be noted, however, that the thesis of the unity of the sciences, as advanced by logical empiricism, is not a monistic doctrine of a homogeneous stuff which is the sole reality, manifesting itself under different qualitative forms. The thesis is a logical one and concerns the continuity of methods and standards of validity for all fields of inquiry. Logical empiricism, moreover, does not maintain that the laws discovered within the domains explored by the sciences of man are or must be deducible from the laws of physics. It is admitted that we cannot at present deduce the former from the latter; and only the future history of science can decide whether this will ever be possible. What logical empiricists maintain, therefore, is not the deducibility of social laws from physical and chemical ones but the specifiability of the conditions for the application of *all* terms (whether physical, chemical, biological, psychological or social) in terms of the observable routines in common experiences.

The views of many logical empiricists on formal logic and mathematics have been influenced in a large measure by the views of Frege and Russell on the identity of logic and mathematics, as well as by the technical achievements of the mathematician Hilbert and his school. A relatively new branch of inquiry, designated as "syntax" or "meta-logic," has gradually taken form. Its object is the study of the formal rules which govern the construction and manipulation of languages. It has been shown that questions of logical validity depend entirely upon the form of linguistic expressions as governed by such rules, independently of the "meanings" associated with the expressions in the language. Logical principles are therefore regarded by logical empiricists not as experimental truths or as a priori laws of all possible being; they are assigned an instrumental function and are taken as principles which govern discourse, as human tools instituted for guiding inquiry and clarifying intent. Logic thus becomes assimilated to grammar, although the content of traditional grammar does not wholly

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coincide with the materials discussed by modern logic. Logic and mathematics are stripped of the ontological interpretation which has frequently been given to them; and the a priori character of the propositions of logic and mathematics, like the normative character of grammar, is simply a consequence of the fact that they make no assertions whatsoever about the actual contents of the world.

The matters studied in syntax are the relations of linguistic expressions to one another. Within the past two years, however, another discipline, which studies the relations of linguistic expressions to what they designate, has been slowly distinguished from syntax. Researches in this domain, called "semantics," are still incomplete. There are already, however, some indications that several issues discussed in traditional epistemology will receive, if not a solution, at least a precise formulation. Moreover, the definitive resolution of a number of antinomies, which have been uncovered by researches into the foundations of mathematics, is already possible with the help of semantic considerations.

One of the most valuable and promising tendencies of logical empiricism is the emphasis it places upon the analysis of ideas employed in special fields of study, so that the procedures which are relevant to those ideas and which alone make them intelligible are made explicit. The logical structure of the theory of relativity, the character and function of the laws in classical and contemporary physics, the rôle of pure mathematics in the positive sciences, the methodology of measurement, the meaning and function of probability statements, the character and basis of social predictions and the logic of classification in psychology and the social sciences are some of the topics discussed in greater or less detail by individual members of the movement. In this respect logical empiricism has continued the tradition of Ernst Mach, whose analysis of such concepts as mass, temperature, and space has contributed so greatly to the advancement and clarification of contemporary physics. In consequence the movement has attracted not only professional

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philosophers but also professional scientists who understand the importance and feel the need of analyzing the concrete issues of the sciences in terms of the procedures employed in them. The international congresses which have been held yearly by logical empiricists would be noteworthy if only for the fact that the major theoretical disciplines have been represented in them. These congresses, as well as the encyclopedia now under way, exhibit a spirit of cooperation among intellectual workers in all fields that is rarely manifested outside the natural sciences. Much remains to be done, especially in analyzing the concepts of the social sciences and above all of ethics. Indeed the discussion of ethical terms by most professed logical empiricists has thus far been of a negative, even a superficial character. It has been directed primarily against obscurantist tendencies instead of contributing positively to their clarification and systematization.

Logical empiricists have often proclaimed themselves as "anti-metaphysical" and some critics of the movement have not hesitated to condemn it almost entirely on that ground. Like most terms, however, "metaphysics" is a weasel word and covers many types of inquiries. The vehemence with which logical empiricists have denounced "metaphysics" is especially unfortunate because it has called forth an equally vehement denunciation of logical empiricism by thinkers whose natural sympathies lie with the positive contributions of the movement. In the judgment of the present writer the anti-metaphysical tendency of logical empiricism is directed at the obscurantism and almost wilful mystification which infest so many philosophic and semi-scientific discussions. To be anti-metaphysical, in the sense intended by logical empiricism, is to accept the essentials of the empirical theory of meaning sketched above. It means, therefore, the rejection in any form of the Kantian doctrine of the *Ding-an-Sich*, because at no point in the examination of controlled inquiry is the introduction of such notions essential and because no confirmable consequences can be

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derived from them. It means that so-called problems are to be dismissed as meaningless if they are so formulated that the possibility of any rational attack upon them is precluded—if they are in principle irresolvable because logical analysis and experimental techniques are irrelevant to them. It means that philosophy, like the sciences, must address itself to the piecemeal analysis of special problems for whose solution some things are relevant and others not—for otherwise the terms employed lose all controllable meaning. It means, finally, that the task of philosophy lies in the clarification of terms occurring in scientific and everyday discourse, by exhibiting their interrelations and function in the contexts in which they occur. Many philosophers, including a number of distinguished Americans, who profess an abiding interest in metaphysics also subscribe to such "anti-metaphysical" principles. What perhaps distinguishes some logical empiricists from them is the somewhat shrill tones of their condemnation of traditional philosophies, the missionary zeal with which they conduct their clarification of meanings, and the mature self-consciousness with which they combine a thorough-going empiricism and the denial of the possibility of an a priori knowledge of nature, with the refined tools of modern logic.

Certainly the least one can say of logical empiricism is that even if it accomplished nothing else it is a powerful force that aims to introduce rational methods into all fields of inquiry. One of its functions, that of serving as a disinfectant to the thinking of men, would alone justify the continuance and spread of the movement. It rests its case not on an appeal to authority or the emotional needs of men but on an appeal to a persistent effort to think clearly. The movement is an important arm in the interminable warfare against obscurantism and for clarity.

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Canada Has a Supreme Court Problem

H. BANTA MURKLAND

THE United States is not the only country that has been having trouble with its constitution. In what from this side of the border seems to be a curiously topsy-turvy, Looking-Glass Land sort of way our neighbors in Canada are also struggling with a Supreme Court problem.

The issue was raised in both countries when depression administrations tried to fit stream-lined social and economic innovations into constitutional frameworks created in simpler times. In this general respect the Canadian and American situations are similar. In almost every detail, however, the pictures are directly opposed. In the United States the constitutional revolution was led by a liberal administration against strenuous conservative opposition; in Canada the innovations were sponsored by the Conservative party and fought by the Liberals. Here short cuts were sought because of impatience with the rigidly-defined provisions for constitutional amendment; the Canadian crisis arose in part at least from the circumstance that there is no generally accepted and presently practical way in which the people of the country can amend their constitution. Finally, the controversy on this side of the border had its fundamental impetus in the increasing tendency toward centralization which for many years has been weakening the original state-rights basis of our governmental system whereas across the line the issue has been forced by the building up of provincial power at the expense of the central government.

Canada's constitution is actually not a constitution at all but a statute of the British Parliament—the British North America Act, passed in 1867 and amended at various times since then. This statute drew the provinces of Canada together into a single

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unit and set up the rules under which they were to be governed. Although this act was made law by the Parliament of England its content was substantially that of the 72 Quebec Resolutions drawn up in Quebec in 1864 by a convention which because of the character of its members as well as the nature of their work may well be compared with our own Constitutional Convention. Not unnaturally the Canadian leaders who gathered at Quebec were considerably interested in the Constitution of the United States. There is still in existence a marked and underlined copy of Madison's debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 which belonged to Sir John A. MacDonald, the chief architect of Canada's constitutional structure.

He and his colleagues were aware that the centralized government for which Alexander Hamilton had fought had been rejected in favor of a looser federation. They observed that even while they were debating their constitution the American system seemed to be disintegrating in civil war and they resolved to profit by the experience of their neighbors. At one time during the debate MacDonald said:

> We had the advantage of the experience of the United States. It is the fashion now to enlarge on the defects of the Constitution of the United States, but I am not one of those who look upon it as a failure. I think and believe that it is one of the most skilful works which human intelligence ever created. It is one of the most perfect organizations that ever governed a free people. We can now take advantage of the experience of the last seventy-eight years during which that constitution has existed, and I am strongly of the belief that we have, in a great measure, avoided in this system which we propose for the adoption of the people of Canada, the defects which time and events have shown to exist in the American Constitution.

In an effort, then, to avoid the mistakes apparently made in the United States the Canadian constitution established a federal system, but one which resembled the discarded Hamiltonian model more than the actual American constitution. That is to say, it provided for a strong central government and restricted provincial power. The Constitution of the United States enumerates certain matters over which the central gov-

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ernment has control; all others are reserved to the states or to the people. The Canadian constitution, on the direct contrary, gives the provinces the exclusive power to legislate on certain matters and leaves the residuum of legislative power to the Dominion.

There are four classifications of legislative power in the British North American Act. Certain subjects are assigned to the exclusive power of the Dominion legislatures, certain powers are exclusively within the provincial domain, the provinces and the Dominion are given concurrent power over agriculture and immigration, and education is handled exceptionally. The Dominion Parliament is given exclusive power "to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Canada in relation to all matters not coming within the classes of subjects assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces." (Contrast this with the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.") In order to make sure that all matters of interest to the inhabitants of the whole country are placed within the power of the Dominion Parliament, even though they may appear to be of a "local" nature, 29 specific classes of subjects (including, of later importance, "the regulation of trade and commerce") are listed, to which "the exclusive legislative authority of the Parliament of Canada extends." The specific subjects are listed, the act carefully states, "for greater certainty, but not so as to restrict the generality of the foregoing terms of this Section." To the provincial legislatures are assigned 15 classes of subjects which are deemed to be of purely provincial, municipal or local concern, including "property and civil rights in the province" and "generally all matters of a merely local or private nature in the province."

There is quite obviously a certain incompleteness and lack of definition about this distribution of powers. Such phrases as "property and civil rights" and "peace, order and good gov-

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ernment" are just about as ambiguous as our own "due process" and "general welfare" clauses, a circumstance which made jurisdictional disputes from time to time between the Dominion and the provinces almost inevitable. Behind this lack of sharp definition and this overlapping of powers lay the same clash of diverse interests which forced a compromise in the American constitution. The problem of sorting out the general powers into specific legislative grants was left to the body which has assumed that task in the United States—the Supreme Court. In Canada, however, the Supreme Court is not the supreme court, for appeals may be taken from it to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and it is the decisions of that body which have shaped the constitution of today. "The British North America Acts," W. P. M. Kennedy has written, "are something like an institutional loom in which for sixty years has been woven and rewoven a tapestry of law, custom, convention, and tradition as each generation has imaged the pattern and tried to express it in the web of constitutional life."

The interpretive process has taken the not unfamiliar form of a contest between the general powers granted by the Constitution to the Dominion, on the one hand, to legislate for "the peace, order and good government of Canada" and to control "the regulation of trade and commerce"; and the power given the provincial governments, on the other hand, over "property and civil rights within the province."

The effect of the Judicial Committee's decisions has been, slowly but surely, to reduce the powers of the Dominion and to strengthen those of the provinces. Many Canadian critics say this trend is due partly to the fact that their constitution is treated by the Judicial Committee not as a constitution but as a British statute. That is to say, no consideration has been given to the historical origins of the constitution, to the social and economic atmosphere of the country or to any other factor than the strict letter of the law as a whole as it may be applicable to the particular case in question. The judges are perhaps not to be criticized for this—in ignoring the intentions of the

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Fathers, Mr. Kennedy says, "they have been and are perfectly justified, according to the rules of the legal game"—but the quite unexpected result has been a building up of provincial power at the expense of the power of the national government.

During the first two decades of its history the Dominion was too busy laying the foundations of federation to worry much about the fine points of constitutional interpretation. But once that process was completed and the intensive development of the country had begun, constitutional limits took on new importance. This was particularly true, in Canada as in the United States, in the economic sphere. It soon became necessary to begin staking out the limits of Dominion and provincial power. This called for a careful judicial examination of the constitution. The results of this examination are to be found in a series of decisions by the Judicial Committee extending over a period of years.

Alexander Brady dates the beginning of the process in the Parsons case in 1881 and sees its culmination in the 1925 case of Toronto Electric Commissioners v. Snider. The Parsons case involved a controversy between the provincial right to legislate on matters concerning "property and civil rights within the province" and the assigned Dominion control over "the regulation of trade and commerce." The Judicial Committee decided in this instance that the Dominion has no power under the trade and commerce clause to regulate the contracts of a particular business within a single province, but that such contracts come under provincial jurisdiction. The Judicial Committee has adhered pretty closely to this line of reasoning ever since. In giving judgment in the 1925 case, which involved the federal Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of 1907, Mr. Brady remarks:

> Lord Haldane emphasized, what had been pointed out in some previous cases, that the federal government could not justify legislation under the "peace, order and good government" clause unless in cases of national peril. Whatever residue of power rested with the federal government in virtue of the "peace, order and good govern-

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ment" clause, it could be invoked only in a crisis. The Industrial Disputes Investigation Act was not intended for a crisis, and certain portions of it affected property and civil rights in the provinces; hence the statute was *ultra vires*. The decision has been broadly interpreted as recognizing the claims of provincial legislatures that they have the residue of power under ordinary circumstances in view of being able to legislate on property and civil rights.

W. B. Munro reports the resultant situation in these words:

> The framers of the American constitution clearly intended that the residuum of legislative power should be vested in the states, but the Supreme Court of the United States has applied the doctrine of liberal construction in such a way as to give Congress jurisdiction over a wide range of unenumerated matters. The framers of the Canadian constitution, just as clearly, intended that the residuum of legislative power should be vested in the Dominion Parliament, but the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, by applying the doctrine of strict construction, has widened the scope of provincial powers.
>
> The Constitution of the United States was framed in an atmosphere of bias against federal centralization and with intent to throw the balance toward state rights; the constitution of Canada was drafted with an equally strong bias against provincial sovereignty and with intent to throw the balance toward federal supremacy; yet, strangely enough, in the United States the federal government has become steadily stronger through the instrumentality of judicial interpretation whereas in Canada, through the same channel of development, federal powers are becoming more closely restricted.

Thus by 1929 the Canadian and American governments were approaching the same destination by different roads.

And in both countries the year 1929 brought the issue to a crisis. The general Dominion election held in 1930 had established a large Conservative majority in the House of Commons, with R. B. Bennett as Prime Minister. Canada never suffered as severely from the depression as some other countries but there was a good deal of unemployment, agriculture was depressed and in general there was plenty of cause for dissatisfaction—a dissatisfaction increased by the evident futility of the more or less traditional methods for combating the depression adopted by the Conservative administration.

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Straws began to indicate a change in the political winds. The Conservatives were overwhelmingly defeated in the provincial election held in Manitoba in June 1932. The Liberals were successful in several by-elections and in provincial general elections in Saskatchewan and Ontario in 1933. It was quite clear that Conservative prestige was waning and that bold action was necessary to restore it. This action took form in the body of legislation frequently called "Canada's New Deal," introduced into the 1934 and 1935 sessions of Parliament and outlined to the country in a series of speeches broadcast by Mr. Bennett in the early weeks of 1935.

The proposals for liberal social and economic reform were embodied in eight measures passed by Parliament. The first three, known as the Labor Codes, included the Weekly Rest Act, the Minimum Wages Act and the Limitation of Hours of Work Act. The fourth was an Employment and Social Insurance Act. The fifth, the National Products Marketing Act, and Amendment, created a board to control and regulate the marketing of national products in the interest of farmers. Measure number six was the Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act, an agricultural bankruptcy bill comparable to the Frazier-Lemke law. The Dominion Trade and Industrial Commission Act set up a Dominion board to regulate and control trusts and monopolies, with functions more or less those of our Federal Trade Commission. The last item of the program was an addition (section 498A) to the Criminal Code. This forbade certain forms of price discrimination and was in general aimed at chain stores and similar institutions.

The formulation of these "New Deal" policies inevitably raised the constitutional issue. The Liberal opposition found this the most convenient line of attack on the Bennett program, for their own long advocacy of many of the principles embodied in the legislation, which was certainly more Liberal than Conservative in its nature, made it difficult for them to attack the content of the bills.

Mr. Bennett himself on April 11th gave guarded recognition

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to the validity of the question by heralding proposals in the House of Commons for a revision of the constitution. Under these proposals the provinces would abandon to the Dominion their jurisdiction over many social and industrial problems. Mr. Bennett also appointed a Select Committee headed by Sir Hugh Guthrie, Minister of Justice, to study and report on the best methods for bringing the British North America Act up to date. The Government leader in the Senate, Arthur Meighen, followed Mr. Bennett's lead and expressed the opinion that the British North America Act had been suitable for the "horse and buggy period" of the early years of confederation but that it was not as well fitted to conditions in Canada "today." Some of the provincial prime ministers intimated they would be willing to confer on the subject and on August 31st Mr. Bennett definitely proposed a conference. He discovered, however, that at least two or three of the provincial leaders were far from enthusiastic about the suggested amendment of the constitution and finally, despairing of achieving the essential unanimity, he abandoned the whole project.

Mr. Bennett's New Deal did not arrest the decline of Conservative fortunes. The general Dominion election in the fall of 1935 was a spectacular victory for the Liberals and Mr. Mackenzie King became Prime Minister. He immediately tackled the constitutional problem by inviting the provincial prime ministers to a conference to consider amendments to the British North America Act and a realignment of federal and provincial authority. This conference, unlike Mr. Bennett's, was actually held and performed some useful if not conclusive work.

Canadian constitutional law, unlike that of the United States, permits the national executive to submit hypothetical legal questions to the courts without waiting for the slow process of trial and appeal of a specific case. The legal fate of Canada's New Deal could therefore be settled in much shorter order than could the destiny of the American reforms. On November 5, 1935 Mr. Mackenzie King submitted Mr. Bennett's legis-

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lative ogdoad to the Supreme Court. That body divided equally on the Labor Codes, gave majority support to the social security act, the farmers' bankruptcy bill and the criminal code amendment, unanimously approved the national marketing act, and validated the Dominion Trade and Industrial Commission Act in part. These judgments were carried from the Supreme Court of Canada to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London. If the Supreme Court had checked the New Deal the Judicial Committee raised havoc with it. On January 28, 1937 the Committee ruled the first five statutes, the heart of the program, invalid. Only the three last and relatively unimportant measures were spared: the Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act, the Dominion Trade and Industrial Commission Act and the addition to the Criminal Code.

This, then, is the situation in which Canada finds itself. There is a strong demand for social and economic action to meet the problems of the new day. It appears that this demand is much more universal across the border than it is in the United States, for the Conservative party originally sponsored Canada's New Deal while the Liberal party, now in power, although it may lack enthusiasm for the specific Conservative measures in question is committed to the principles of social reform and is carrying on the search initiated by the Conservatives for some effective method of bringing it about.

In the path of social progress stands the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council whose rulings have steadily whittled away the residuary powers of the Dominion. The corresponding expansion of provincial power over "property and civil rights" has made many reforms impossible on a national scale—the only scale on which most of them would have any value. What are the possible remedies for this situation?

The one to which President Roosevelt had resort is impossible in Canada, for the Canadian government has no effective control over the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London and any kind of court packing is out of the question. Nor can reform be accomplished indirectly (as it seems to have

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been in the United States) either by normal changes in the personnel of the court or by the pressure of public opinion on its members. Since Canada has nothing to do with the selection of members of the Committee its largely non-Canadian personnel is not apt to be swayed by the winds of Canadian doctrine.

The simplest and most obvious procedure, and the most valid historically, would be that of amendment. Unfortunately amendment of the Canadian constitution by the conventional method appears to be, under present circumstances, quite impossible. Because Canada's constitution, the British North America Act, is a British statute, amendments must be made by the British Parliament. In the past when an amendment was desired it was customary for both houses of the Canadian Parliament to pass an "address to the Throne" which in most cases was promptly acted upon by the British Parliament. In no instance, however, was this procedure used to bring about any fundamental change in Dominion-provincial relationships. The Statute of Westminster (1931) which governs the imperial relationships of the Dominions expressly provides that legislation affecting fundamental rights of the provinces may be passed upon request of the "proper authorities." Since they are so directly concerned the provinces claim a right to be heard on the present issue and they insist that the "proper authorities" on whose request the British Parliament may act include the provincial legislatures as well as that of the Dominion. Here, of course, is the rub, for some of the provinces are very jealous of their rights and reluctant to put them at the mercy of the Dominion. This is notably true of Catholic, French-speaking Quebec, which clings stubbornly to its religious and lingual rights.

This position was well expressed in an editorial in the Montreal *Gazette* (September 15, 1934) which pointed out that the provinces would be asked to transfer to the Dominion important legislative responsibilities which were exclusively theirs and that with these responsibilities were connected a number of provincial rights which some of the provinces would be un-

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willing to surrender. "The bait with which the Dominion is angling is a tempting one under present conditions when every province of the Dominion is more or less hard up financially and some of them are in very serious straits," declared this newspaper, but though the prospect of being unburdened of the costs of many social services was recognized as alluring, the editorial went on to say:

> There remains the awkward fact that the financial responsibilities concerned cannot be transferred without the concomitant surrender of provincial legislative rights which the provinces have always enjoyed and which many of them have jealously guarded. . . . It will be well for the provinces to consider whether the monetary relief which such a surrender of their existing rights would bring may be purchased at too great a price.

Some proponents of reform insist there is no requirement that all the provinces support a request for constitutional change; that on the contrary there is plenty of historic precedent for disregarding provincial objections. But whatever the legal position, the political inexpediency of ignoring provincial opinion acts as an effective bar to amendment at this time.

Canada has also tried another path around her constitutional obstacles—the method of Dominion-provincial cooperation, usually in the form of an inter-provincial conference. Several of these have been held since the World War to consider questions on which national action is required by circumstances but barred by law. Such cooperative consideration has sometimes been put into practical effect in the form of grants-in-aid from the Dominion government to the provinces, which pass the necessary enabling legislation. Something has been accomplished in this way but the procedure is clumsy at best and provincial jealousies are active enough to frustrate real progress. Even this compromise method has come under a constitutional cloud, for it was used to put into effect the National Products Marketing Act, invalidated by the Judicial Committee.

One other road remains open: that of altogether abolishing appeals by Canada to the Judicial Committee. Final authority

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on constitutional points would instead be delegated to the Canadian courts. Proponents of this policy declare that the members of the Privy Council have no understanding of a federal system, but most of them are totally unfamiliar with conditions in the Dominion and particularly with the intangible but important social atmosphere of the country and that as a result they have completely reversed the meaning of the British North America Act.

But this proposal, too, runs into difficulties which seem, at least for the moment, insuperable. For one thing, there is no precedent for such action and as a result no agreement as to how it could be accomplished, or indeed that such a change could be brought about at all by due process of law. Furthermore, loose as are the bonds which now hold the Empire together, there would unquestionably be strong opposition to such a move in England as well as among the provincial diehards in Canada. Incidentally, Canadian opposition to reform is not entirely political. Together with the jealous provinces many Canadian business interests oppose all proposals for reform. Afraid of federal regulation, they share the affection of their counterparts in the United States for a judicial veto on federal power.

At the moment Canada's constitutional crisis is in suspension. Mr. Mackenzie King has appointed a Royal Commission of Liberal experts on politics, economics and finance to investigate Dominion-provincial relations in general, the workings of the financial aspects of confederation (so large a subject in itself that it has not been considered here) and related problems. That Commission is now engaged in taking evidence, and action will probably wait on its report, which is expected at the end of the year. The controversy already raging over the evidence submitted to the Commission reveals the complexity of Canada's problem and suggests that, careful to avoid American mistakes as the Canadian fathers thought they were being, Canadians will be arguing over their constitution as long as we are over ours.

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Prejudice the Garden Toward Roses?

I. L. KANDEL

THE conflict between the traditionalists or, as they have recently begun to be described, the essentialists, and the progressives in education is more than the batrachomyomachia which it appears to be to laymen and to a large part of the profession of teachers. It is a conflict between idealism in one form or another and pragmatism, between classicism and romanticism, between those who believe that the experience of the race has something to contribute to the enlightenment of the individual in the modern world and those who stress the primacy of immediate experiencing by the individual in and through the environment in which he lives. It is, therefore, a conflict which is more fundamental than the question whether instruction shall center round "subjects" or grow out of the "needs" of the pupil. Both the essentialists and the progressives believe in the principle of education as "growth," but the former hold that growth must have a definite direction whereas the latter advocate growth with nothing fixed in advance, or as an "on-going process" without direction; the latter concentrate their attention on change and constant reconstruction of values, while the former believe in the existence of certain eternal and permanant values which have grown out of the experience of the race. Frederick J. E. Woodbridge well summarized the nature of the conflict when he wrote "For that complex of human performances which we call civilization turns out, as we examine it closely, to be a changing and shifting scene which has nonetheless a definable background. To discover that background, and to exhibit the varied lights and shadows as thrown up from it, is a proper task for philosophy." It may be added that this is a task for education also. The

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progressives stress the changing and shifting scene, the precariousness of life and the unpredictable future; "the votaries of progress," as Dean Inge has pointed out, "mistake the flowing tide for the river of eternity." The essentialists start with a definable background, not because they wish to be conservative or, as the progressives charge, static, but because they believe, as Mr. Woodbridge puts it, that "the background is thus the important factor, at once conservative and propelling."

It is on the whole because of the failure to trace back to their origins the philosophical bases of the conflict between essentialists and progressives that education in the United States has reached its present state of chaos and uncertainty. The essentialists, relying on the persistence of their point of view through the ages and remembering that much that is claimed by the progressives is not new, have failed until recently to put forward a philosophical defense of their position, whereas the progressives, with the fervor of evangelists, have rallied round the new movement which, as John Dewey has recently warned, "takes its clew in practice from that which is rejected instead of from the constructive development of its own philosophy." And this has been easier in a cultural atmosphere whose chief tradition is to have no traditions and whose predominant interest is in change. It has been rejection of the past and desire for novelty rather than a clear-cut philosophy that have attracted adherents; *omne ignotum pro magnifico*. A certain sentimentality about the child, emphasis on respect for personality, and stress on activity are other factors that have appealed to the American mind. There has in addition been an active campaign which has presented a distorted picture of the traditional school to the public.

What is the picture of the traditional school which the progressive educators portray in such a way as to play upon the tenderest feeling of parents—their desire to give their children the best possible start in life? The child, they say, goes to the traditional school unwillingly and is kept there under control and discipline until the close of the day, when he has a chance

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to explode into freedom. School equipment, with its long orderly rows of desks, is designed for maintenance of discipline and for the enforcement of obedience to authority. The classroom is arranged essentially for listening, for passivity rather than for movement and activity. Education is regarded as a preparation for adult life with deferred values to be appreciated and understood later and, therefore, with little or no meaning for the child in his immediate present. The child is to be shaped and molded to conform to a fixed pattern. Therefore the emphasis in the curriculum is not upon the child's immediate needs and interests but upon the social heritage, built up under an authoritarian concept of society, shaped by adult needs and logically arranged into a patchwork of compartmentalized subjects. The methods of instruction stress drill and study which mean memorization of formal material from books to be repeated or recited to the teacher. Such learning is not an active process but merely the uncritical accumulation of facts and information. In the social and moral fields the emphasis is upon accepted doctrines and upon authority as sacred and beyond question. Most of the work of the school is intellectual and displays an almost total disregard of the emotions. Individual differences are disregarded and promotion is determined by a standardized lockstep. Finally, the traditional school concentrates attention upon the past and ignores the contemporary life of and around the child.

If anyone is disposed to question this statement of the way in which progressive education has built itself up he is reminded of the "March of Time" film shown a little over a year ago. In this film the traditional school was represented exactly as described above; the teacher with cane in hand was calculated to strike terror into the hearts of his pupils who, as they entered the classroom to face a blackboard covered with arithmetic tables and spelling lists, abandoned all their happiness and joy outside. In the modern progressive school which was shown in contrast the pupils were happy, active, moving about and "doing things." Observers who watched closely noticed that the tra-

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ditional school was of the vintage of about 50 years ago, whereas the progressive school was one of the most modern experimental schools.

This in essence has been the strategy of the protagonists of progressive education. They take a school which has all but disappeared, call it traditional and compare it with the best of the progressive type. Rarely is any mention made of the fact that the traditional school has itself been undergoing a process of transformation, that the number of children who go unwillingly to school has almost completely disappeared, that curricula and courses have been revised in order that the formal, useless and meaningless may be eliminated and that what is significant for understanding the world of the present should receive its due emphasis. Rarely, if ever, is the essentialist given any credit for building his educational theory and practice on a philosophy which is perfectly valid and acceptable or for having values which he believes to be as important for the welfare of society as for the education of the child for that society. To the impression which progressive educators have sought to convey—that the essentialist is simply seeking to carry on the school as he has inherited it from the past, without any adjustment to changing needs—they have more recently begun to add the argument that the traditionalist in education is by the same token reactionary in political and social affairs. By implication, therefore, progressives are radicals who advocate their educational theories and practices to reconstruct society and to change the social order.

The criticisms of the traditional school are thus manufactured out of whole cloth to make the flesh of parents creep. And as if these criticisms are not enough, some progressives have woven into their arguments a little of the jargon drawn from psychoanalysis. What parent will want, if he has a choice, to send his child to a school in which he will be unhappy and thwarted at every turn—with the added dangers of acquiring inhibitions, complexes and repressions and developing a dual personality? The parents will accept at its face value the impli-

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cation that nothing happens to a child in the way of learning and education unless he is active, moving about, criticizing, discussing, solving problems and expressing himself.

Progressive education, however, has not always been concerned with social change. It started out 30 years ago with the theory that school and society must be brought more closely together, that the curriculum should be made more meaningful and significant to the learner and that the child or the learner with his needs and interests should be made the starting-point of a process through which his experience would be constantly reconstructed. Education must no longer be a preparation for life; education is life, arising out of the experiences and needs of the child and promoting his growth. Rejecting what was criticized as excessive emphasis on formal subject matter the progressives began to worship at the altar of the child. Children should be allowed to grow in accordance with their needs and interests; nothing must be interposed between them and their own direct and immediate experiences; knowledge is valuable only as it is acquired in a real situation; the teacher must be present to provide the proper environment for experiencing but must not intervene except to guide and advise. There must, in fact, be "nothing-fixed-in-advance" and subjects must not be "set-out-to-be-learned," for such a practice is imposition of external experience and authority and, therefore, opposed to free and natural development. Thus the purpose of the new movement was for very many years defined by the Progressive Education Association in the following terms: "(1) The pupils shall be allowed freedom to develop naturally; (2) interest of the child shall be the motive of all work; and (3) the teacher shall be considered a guide and not a taskmaster." No reference was ever made to the curriculum or its content. Nor is there, in the latest resolutions of the Association, any suggestion of what the curriculum should be except that it must be directed to the reconstruction of culture and the promotion of a new social order: "In order to establish integration again in our culture and to utilize our recent gains over the physical world, our

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next great period of progress must be in the direction of creating new institutional controls designed by the people for their common welfare." This task is to be begun in the school by "providing for pupils a selected and stimulating environment out of which may emerge purposes which will lead children and youth through relevant experiences to the understanding of the possibilities for human betterment in modern techniques providing we can design democratic institutions suited to the new conditions." There has thus been a shift in emphasis from the child with his needs and interests and education for growth with nothing-fixed-in-advance, to a speculative study of a vague form of social order which has not yet emerged.

The essentialist rejects the progressive theory of growth with nothing-fixed-in-advance, a planless education based upon the unselected experiences and needs of the child or even selected by cooperative, shared discussions of pupils and teachers. Growth cannot be self-directed; it needs direction through a carefully chosen environment to an end or ends in the minds of those who have been entrusted by society with the child's education. The problem is not new; it was first posed in modern times by Rousseau and has been the subject of controversy ever since. It was answered for all time by Coleridge nearly 100 years ago in the following story:

> Thelwall thought it very unfair to influence a child's mind by inculcating any opinions before it should have come to years of discretion, and be able to choose for itself. I showed him my garden, and told him it was my botanical garden. "How so?" said he, "it is covered with weeds."—"Oh," I replied, "*that* is only because it has not yet come to its age of discretion and choice. The weeds, you see, have taken the liberty to grow, and I thought it unfair in me to prejudice the soil towards roses and strawberries."

What has been said of growth applies equally to the theory of building an education on the needs and experiences of the child. Such needs and experiences must be guided by and selected in the light of ends and purposes. And yet attempts have been made and are still being made to follow the needs

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and experiences of the child without a plan and with as little interference as possible from the teacher. Nothing must be done, according to this view, to determine the future thought and conduct of the child. The child is to grow in response to his own needs and through solving his own problems as they emerge out of his own experience. Despite this theory progressive schools do become conventionalized and adopt certain patterns—all students are exposed to one pattern of social studies, all build ships one year and the next turn out ashtrays and bookends, all alike, and so on. The product, it is claimed, is unimportant; it *is* important that free rein be given the creative urge and self-expression—before there is anything to express or create. And this is carried over into the moral field; for since there are, for the progressive, no eternal verities or permanent values, and it is immoral for adults to impose their standards of morality on the child, the child must discover standards of conduct for himself, and what works is true.

The full weight of the progressive attack is against subject matter and the planned organization of a curriculum in terms of subjects. There are three reasons for this attack: First, the theory that the work of the school must grow out of the interests and experiences of the child; second, the objection that a subject-matter organization is in terms of facts, information and knowledge to be acquired and not in terms of problems, situations and activities in and out of which the need for knowledge arises; and third, the criticism that such subject matter is acquired through books and that education therefore becomes formal, verbal, and bookish. The child must be left to find out things for himself in order to solve a problem or meet a situation, but nothing is said as to how problems are recognizable without knowledge. What the traditionalist calls the essentials can, it is maintained by the progressive, be acquired incidentally without the waste of effort and formal drill. The teacher is not entirely discarded; he is part of the environment to guide and to give help when called upon, but he must have no long-range plan based on his greater and richer background of ex-

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perience, because he cannot anticipate the situations and problems that will confront the child. Creative activity leading to more activity is the goal to be attained, but this goal is at best vague and places the emphasis on method at the expense of content. One is reminded of the conversation between the cat and Alice. " 'Then it doesn't matter which way you go,' said the cat.—'So long as I get somewhere,' Alice added as an explanation."

It is that "somewhere" that is the crux of the present problem, for if the course is to be planless and improvised according to the immediate needs and urges of the child the result will be a patchwork as meaningless as a Surrealist or Dadaistic painting, which is also the product of nothing-fixed-in-advance except an inner urge to express oneself. But the progressives are not really as black as they would like to paint themselves. They hold up the child-centered school as the ideal, but on close investigation it is found that the child-centered school is a teacher-centered school, that when the teacher who has been successful in turning out poets leaves the school the Pierian springs dry up. In actual practice the teacher who is acclaimed for creating situations in which pupils produce poetry, music and art is the teacher who is inspired by a rich command of her subjects and who makes the pupils over into a pattern already "fixed-in-advance" in her mind. There is no spontaneous germination of poetry, music, art, or of anything else in the child-centered school, and the successful teacher does more than stand by and suggest.

The ranks of progressive educators are today splitting into a number of groups. There are those who, still stressing the child, would bring the community into the school in order to provide for growth through real experiences, to develop critical attitudes and to lay the basis for social reconstruction. This group, in general—usually concerned with young children whose experiences are still wholes and not yet organized—would extend its theory upwards through the grades and into the high school. A second group is opposed to a curriculum-

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fixed-in-advance and seeks to build up an education on the immediate experiences of the pupils and the problems arising therefrom. Both groups are opposed to subjects as such.

The danger of chaos which threatens education from both points of view has recently been pointed out by leaders of what may become a third group. B. H. Bode in his *Progressive Education at the Crossroads* has attacked the theory of education based on the unselected needs and interests of the child and of growth without a sense of direction, and the theory that the school must "teach the child, not the subject." "To raise a hue and cry against subjects," writes Mr. Bode, "is to pour out the baby with the bath. The traditional subjects stood for an educational value, which we neglect at our peril." And again, "if we may assume that the purpose of teaching is to liberate the intelligence of the pupil, it appears that we must go into 'logical organization' and beyond it. The pupil must acquire some capacity for thinking as the specialist thinks; and, in addition, he must see the bearing of the subject on the question of absolute standards." At almost the same time Mr. Dewey sounded the same note of warning in his latest book, *Experience and Education*, and as the following quotations indicate urges a return to subject matter:

> But finding the material of learning within experience is only the first step. The next step is the progressive development of what is already experienced into a fuller and richer and also more organized form, a form that gradually approximates that in which subject matter is presented to the skilled, mature person. . . . That up to the present the weakest point in progressive schools is the matter of selection and organization of intellectual subject matter is, I think, inevitable under the circumstances. . . . The educator cannot start with knowledge already organized and proceed to ladle it out in doses. But as an ideal the active process of organizing facts and ideas is an ever-present educational process.

Thus the serious misgivings of the essentialists are being allayed and a bridge is being prepared for a reconciliation between the essentialist and progressive points of view. Certain doctrinal differences will continue to exist. The progressive

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will, no doubt, continue to stress the early experiences of the child; the essentialist will from the start select those experiences in consonance with a planned organization of education as a whole. The progressive is likely to emphasize the immediate and draw on the past only for illustrative purposes; the essentialist will seek to avoid a disorderly and discontinuous fumbling with needs, activities and experiences, and by inducting the pupil into what Charles A. Beard has described as "the treasures heavy with the thought and sacrifices of the centuries" and "a heritage of knowledge and heroic examples—accepted values stamped with the seal of permanence" he will endeavor to produce men and women possessing the understanding that comes through knowledge, men and women critical because they possess a mastery of facts and an ability to think objectively and free because they have disciplined themselves for a life of duty and responsibility.

The essentialist starts with the premise that the school is an institution created to achieve some definite purpose. He agrees with the general progressive formula that education is life, but believes that formal education must confront the pupil with a certain body of experiences selected from what is called life. He is no less interested than the progressive in the principle that learning cannot be successful unless it is based on the capacities, interests and purpose of the learner, but he believes those interests and purposes must be made over by the skill of a teacher who is master of that "logical organization" called subjects and who understands the processes of educational development. The essentialist no longer believes that that development is wholly intellectual: he recognizes that education must not be directed to the mind alone but to the whole human being, if this is to grow into a well-rounded personality. He welcomes the call of the progressive leaders for subjects and subject matter, for he has felt that when the lid was taken off the universe the bottom began to fall out of education. He is willing to learn and has learned much from progressive theory on methods of instruction; he believes, indeed, that the chief

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contribution of what is called the pragmatic philosophy has been to methodology. Finally, he is still concerned about the future of American education because adequate attention has not been given to the proper selection and professional preparation of teachers. Until this is done and until there is a shift of emphasis from both subject matter and the child to the teacher he has no reason to expect success from any theory of education. For ultimately it is the teacher with a broad liberal education, mastery of a special field, understanding of the process of learning and a strong conviction on the contribution that education can make to social welfare and progress who is the key to the situation.

Megalopolis

JOHN PHELPS CHAMBERLAIN

The towers of the gods mount from Manhattan rock:
The shining heaven-soarers built by gods of clay
Flash toward the stars and sky. . . .

A city is not made by love
But conceived in greed and sweat, by the clever counters of figures,
Muscled backs of pick-swingers, and the skill of the blasting boys:
Tunnels in the earth and catwalks in the sky. . . .

Why are these dirty blocks, and these sly eyes,
These penny slot-machines, these subway-station smells?
These non-committal faces in muraled cocktail bars?

At noon the shopgirls pour out for Today's Special:
Sunshine sparkles in windows and along the pavements.

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Megalopolis

And what does the broker think of when telephones are silent,
As he stares at the skyscraper across the street and the steam
rising?

What boatman guides these passengers for a nickel
In the underworld that lies between 42nd and Canal?

What happy fields receive them past Hoboken?

What gods are these that require laxatives?

At night shadows stretch from the buildings:
Street lights fade into the future of the evening
But silence most becomes a city . . . silence:
When the stars go down and drunks have dropped somewhere,
And the million windows are sightless, and the streets are left to
the wind.

Towers will stand in the sky some centuries
But the gods rot faster than steel:
The people will change and pass and the names of streets be
forgotten.

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The Ancestry of the American Negro

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

TO UNDERSTAND interracial problems in the United States we must know as much as we can concerning the background of our minority groups. The most important aspects of this background material are summarized in the answers to three questions: What were the origins of a given folk? What elements in the population from which they came do they represent? What of their traditions have they retained?

So far as European or Oriental immigrants are concerned, or others who have come from historic cultures, the answers to these questions, though not completely worked out, are at least fairly well known in their broad outlines. Only in the case of the Negro, the most numerous of the minority groups, is this kind of knowledge not generally available. And here it is not only curious but potentially dangerous, especially where programs of action are concerned, that it is held either to be impossible or unnecessary were it possible to recover such facts.

The reasons for this attitude are two-fold. In the first place the idea that the Negro slaves came to the New World as savages, with nothing to give their masters, has been so deeply implanted in the minds of Americans, White and Negro alike, that it seems futile to give the time and energy needed for the difficult task of historical dissection which alone can establish the facts. In the second place it is not deemed worth while in the case of the Negro to assume this task, because there is a persistent tradition that even had the Negro brought with him a civilization worthy of the name, the cultures of Africa are so diverse and the policy of the slaveholders was so directed toward the extinction of aboriginal tradition that nothing African of any social significance remains in the present-day behavior

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of American Negroes. The question of their origin is thus dismissed as something that at best can be considered an academic one.

Setting aside for the moment the question of the validity of these assumptions we may ask what is actually known of the African derivation of the Negroes of this country. Before presenting the facts, however, I must emphasize an essential point almost invariably disregarded when the answer to this problem of African origins is sought as it concerns some aspect or other of American Negro life. I have long been convinced that in studying the origins of the Negroes of the United States constant reference must be made to other Negro populations of the New World. For the United States was only one portion of the great slave-receiving area which also included the islands of the Caribbean and certain portions of northern and eastern South America, notably Brazil and the Guianas. The slaves were, indeed, often sent to continental United States only after a preliminary conditioning period elsewhere.[1] Hence it follows that whatever can be established for the rest of the New World is applicable to the United States and cannot be disregarded.

I have found it impossible, further, to study the problems of Negro origins unless both documentary and ethnological evidence is used. Contemporary historical facts of the first importance, which give direct information about the tribal affiliations of the slaves, can be found in considerable bulk once one is alive to their value and looks for them. The significance of evidence even of such direct character can only be fully realized, however, when it is correlated with a knowledge of the present-day life of New World Negroes and with what is today known of the tribes of Africa itself and of their cultures. One knows where to look because in the interior of Guiana, Haiti and Brazil (and to a lesser degree in Jamaica, Trinidad and other Caribbean islands) there are Negroes whose African personal names, place-names, names of deities, ritual practices, social

[1] See notice of sale of slaves reproduced on page 94.

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organization and local economy all point toward specific areas and definite tribes of West Africa. When, in addition, such works as the report of C. G. A. Oldendorps, Inspector-General of the Moravian Missions in the Virgin Islands in 1770-1775, or the volumes of John Gabriel Stedman on Dutch Guiana, published in 1796, or the great collection of documents appertaining to the slave-trade assembled in recent years by Professor Elizabeth Donnan name the same areas and the same tribes again and again as the sources of slaves, it is apparent that the lines of attack are converging on very definite points. Finally, with the discovery that today in those very areas of Africa substantial correspondences to present-day New World Negro behavior exist, the problem in its broad outlines is well on the way to solution.

Applying both historical and ethnological techniques, then, it becomes apparent that the significant locale of slaving operations to the New World was the western coastal belt of Africa from the Senegal River in the north, around the Great Bend to the Guinea Coast, along the Bight of Benin and southwards beyond the Congo to the Portuguese territory of Angola. Relatively few slaves came from any great distance inland and most of them were brought from the narrow forested region that follows the coast at a depth varying from two to three hundred miles. The interior of the Congo, which has appealed to those inclined to take Negro origins as a literary theme, was apparently not an area of intensive slaving. The economics of slaving would be sufficient to explain why slaves were not sent from Madagascar and eastern Africa, even if Miss Donnan's list of the slaves imported into Virginia between 1710 and 1769 did not show that of a total of 52,504 only 1,011 were from Madagascar, and that of 67,769 imported into South Carolina between 1752 and 1808, only 473 were brought from East Africa and Madagascar.

The areas that apparently furnished the greatest number of slaves were the basin of the Senegal River, the "Guinea Coast" (including especially the southern portions of what are today

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known as the Gold Coast and Dahomey) and the Niger delta, or the "Bight of Benin." Later, toward the end of the slaving period, numerous cargoes were shipped from the region about the mouth of the Congo. In the central portion of the area—the Guinea Coast and the Bight of Benin—the tribes of the Gold Coast, of Dahomey and of the southern portion of the present British Colony of Nigeria are most often encountered in the literature about slave trading. Two examples of sales of slaves advertised in the *Cornwall and Jamaica General Advertiser* as cited by MacInnes in his book *England and Slavery* indicate how tribal names from these regions appear in the documents:

Martha Brae, January 27th, 1783
For Sale
On Wednesday the 4th
of February
On Board the Ship
THARP
Captain Fisher
(From Annamaboe)
440 Choice, Young Fantee, Ashantee, and Akim
Negroes
By Thorpe and Campbell

A second announcement reads:

Montega Bay, January 2nd, 1789
For Sale
On Tuesday next, the 6th instant,
On Board the Ship
VULTURE
James Brown, Master,
Five hundred and ninety-eight choice
young Eboe
Slaves
by James Wedderburn Co.

Anamabo is a coastal village of the Gold Coast, an area inhabited by the populous Fanti, Ashanti and Akim tribes; and Bonny, in the Niger Delta, was an outlet for this vast hinter-

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land where one of the most important native groups is the Ibo. Other tribal designations that frequently appeared were those of the Nago—another name for the Yoruban peoples of southwestern Nigeria, who figured importantly in the slave contingents which came to Cuba, and whose name and the names of whose deities still persist there and in Brazil. The Ardras, the Mahis, the Popos, the Fidas and the other tribes mentioned as having been brought in great numbers to Haiti are from Dahomey. In American documents—as would be expected—we find the same tribal designations and place-names, Whydah, Fantee, Eboe and many others, representing the peoples from which the North American Negroes, like those taken to the West Indies and South America, were derived.

Knowing the region from which the slaves came we are in a position to learn something of the cultures which these people brought with them. In discussing this point I shall confine myself to the heart of the slaving area—those southern parts of the present colonies of the Gold Coast, Dahomey and Nigeria where, as has been pointed out, existed the civilizations which were dominant and therefore most significant in the formation of the patterns of New World Negro behavior.

In this general area we find native cultures so complex that they can be called "primitive" only in the technical sense of the word—that is, of a folk who have never developed a written language. Here the kingdoms of the Ashanti, of the Fanti and Akim peoples, of Dahomey, of the Oyo, Egba and other Yoruban folk and of Benin flourished, bringing to their inhabitants an ordered life regulated by stable dynasties. The continuous growth of these West African political entities through the steady conquest of neighboring states developed a marked military ability which persisted as a factor of importance in the slave areas of America. In this region, too, we find highly developed arts and crafts. The wood-carving of much of this part of Africa is today well known by all who are abreast of modern currents in art; the bronzes of Benin, the brass figures of Dahomey and the metal gold-weights of the

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Ashanti also enjoy a deserved reputation. Weaving of high quality is found everywhere in this area, but most notably on the Gold Coast, as well as the manufacture of pottery and of iron implements.

Obviously to support the degree of specialization necessary for cultures of this kind large populations living under efficient economic systems are needed. From the days of the earliest travellers the density of these populations has been such that most of the available land has had to be farmed to produce the requisite crops. The importance of having competent systems of exchange is also evident. A currency consisting of cowry-shells has long been in use, and has only recently begun to give way before European money. On the basis of this currency an adequate system of distribution has existed since the earliest days of European contact, and commodities circulated in numerous markets, both wholesale and retail.

Religion, like other aspects of these cultures, shows a high degree of complexity. With an economic base capable of supporting specialists in the supernatural, it is understandable how the priesthoods developed complex philosophies of the universe in terms of interrelated groups of deities, each with their specialized functions, integrated into a comprehensible and well-working whole. Together with this involved religious system goes a belief in magic, here incorporated as an integral part into the total range of beliefs and practices, while, as elsewhere in Africa, there are in addition divining cults administered by still other specialists.

Given thus the areas from which the slaves were derived and the civilizations represented in them what can be learned concerning the respective contributions to the body of slaves of the social classes which existed, and still exist within these populations? Though answers to this question can be given only in tentative form they can nevertheless be given, for a beginning has been made in analyzing the available information from this point of view.

It must, first of all, be recognized that slavery was nothing

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new to the slaves brought to the Americas. The institution was deep-rooted throughout all West Africa, where it took not only the mild form of household slavery but the much harsher form of plantation slavery. There, too, as in the New World, absentee ownership made for an increase in the brutality of supervision. By no means all the available human material was exported, as is apparent from such testimony as that of Captain William Snelgrave who recounts how in 1725 he was forced to wait a considerable time to complete his cargo because the King of Dahomey was unwilling to deplete the stock of slaves on hand in order to satisfy his demand. The slaves were principally obtained in raids—locally called wars—made by the more powerful kingdoms against their weaker neighbors. And here a point of significance enters: there was no distinction between combatants and non-combatants. All who fell into the hands of the hostile army lost their liberty. It must therefore be concluded that the slaves represented an adequate cross-section of the entire West African population, with neither the deficient—"who wouldn't have let themselves be enslaved if they had been any good" as it has been expressed—nor the upper-class warriors unduly weighting the scale.

Yet it is just possible that a slight weighting resulted from the internal politics of the West African kingdoms and the circumstances of their growth. Here I must be even more tentative, for I can only cite material which I myself gathered in Dahomey since no other data are to my knowledge available. In Dahomey two factors made for the enslavement of a somewhat larger number of upper-class persons—nobles, priests and diviners—than commoners. Occasionally the accession of a new king was disputed by a brother. Enslavement of the loser, his supporters and the families of those concerned was at once a simple and profitable means of resolving the situation. That nobles from other kingdoms were also sold—though whether or not for similar reasons cannot be said—is apparent from this quotation from Moreau de St. Mery:

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> The Mina Negroes have even been seen to recognize the princes of their country . . . prostrating themselves at their feet and rendering them that homage whose contrast to the state of servitude to which these princes have been reduced . . . offers a striking enough instance of the instability of human greatness.

When small political units were conquered by larger ones, a larger proportion of priests was deported than their numbers in the general population might justify. Again, according to Dahomean tradition as handed down from generation to generation of official court "remembrancers," the conquest of such minor groups usually found the priests of the local cults the most intransigeant members of the community. Since these priests most often refused to submit to the superior force of the conquering power they were as a rule sold. In Dahomey the sale of priests was so common that the knowledge of how to worship the river-spirits, to which these priests as heads of the local river cults usually ministered, has been quite lost. This may be the reason why baptism in a living body of water is as important among American Negroes as it is, since this widespread custom could hardly be accidental. For may it not have been the influence of these priests, as slaves, that transmuted aboriginal river-worship into its only possible form under Christianity—baptism?

The presence, among the New-World slaves, of these members of the ruling class and of the priests is of some moment for an understanding of the development of the patterns of New-World Negro life. It is admitted by students of Negro culture that it is in religion above all that Africanisms are most often to be found. African magical practices are readily identifiable even in the United States; and though such behavior as the violent spirit-possessions which characterize worship in certain Negro churches is not so readily recognizable as of African origin it is nonetheless a manifestation of the carry-over of aboriginal customs. Elsewhere in the New World, where the accommodation to European custom has not been as far-reaching as in the United States, Africanisms in religious beliefs and

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practices have persisted almost unchanged. They may be seen in the religion of the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana, in the "fetish" cults of Brazil and Cuba and in the "voodoo" rites of the Haitians—to cite the outstanding instances. The persistence of Africanisms in song and dance in connection with worship is to be generally observed, even in the United States. This has a direct bearing on the origin of those Negro contributions to our American civilization, a problem which has aroused great general interest.

The practice of enslaving leaders as well as rank-and-file members of African communities had far-reaching consequences. The concept of the Negro as a "born slave" lodges deep in American tradition, yet nothing could be more false. From the moment of their enslavement the Negroes did not stop resisting; in the slave barracoons of the West Coast, on shipboard and on the plantations there was a persistent danger of revolt that made life a nightmare to those in charge of these Negroes. Captains of slave-ships often lost their vessels because of slave uprisings and those who were wise—and these were numerous—took out "revolt insurance." The first Negro slaves to be brought to the New World were shipped in 1510; the first slave revolt occurred just twelve years later, while eleven other revolts of Negro slaves have been recorded for Spanish America between 1522 and 1553. Recent historical research has shown that the revolts, small and large, in the United States are to be numbered by the dozens. In Brazil, in Dutch Guiana, in Jamaica, in Haiti, slaves were constantly escaping to the freedom of the bush and were there organized by men who had been leaders in the areas from which the slaves had originally come. With supernatural sanctions assured by their African priests, those who had escaped raided the plantations and rescued still more slaves, so that the little communities of "maroons" became constantly larger and more powerful. In Brazil the most important of these groups was finally subdued, but in the other three regions the operations of these bands of revolters met with a success whose implications have almost never been recognized.

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Today Haiti is free, the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana acknowledge but the nominal suzerainty of the Netherlands Government and the Maroons of Jamaica live as a self-contained community, paying no taxes and holding their own courts.

We may now return to the significance of knowing the tribal origins of the Negroes of America, their cultural endowment and the strata of the population from which they were derived. Can we justify anything more than an academic interest in findings of this sort? I am convinced that such knowledge, quite aside from its importance in furthering our understanding of cultural processes in general, is also essential both as an aid in pointing studies of the race problem and in molding practical policies.

For granting that current social and economic forces are predominant in shaping race relations, it must never be forgotten that psychological imponderables are also of first importance in sanctioning action on any level. And it is such imponderables as have been referred to in the opening paragraphs of this paper that, for all their fallaciousness, are now being strengthened by the findings of studies that ignore the only valid point of departure in social investigation—the historical background of the phenomenon being studied and those factors which make for its existence and perpetuation. When, for instance, one sees vast programs of Negro education undertaken without the slightest consideration given even to the possibility of some retention of African habits of thought and speech that might influence the Negroes' reception of the instruction thus offered, one cannot but ask how we hope to reach the desired objectives. When we are confronted with psychological studies of race relations made in utter ignorance of characteristic African patterns of motivation and behavior, or with sociological analyses of Negro family life which make not the slightest attempt to take into account even the chance that the phenomenon being studied might in same way have been influenced by the carry-over of certain African traditions; when we contemplate accounts of the history of slavery which make of plantation life

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a kind of paradise by ignoring or distorting the essential fact that the institution persisted only through constant precautions taken against slave uprisings, we can but wonder about the value of such work.

It is, therefore, of no small importance that the historical past of the Negro be ascertained as fully as possible. The further we can carry this investigation and the more we can learn of this African background the better the understanding we shall have of those aspects of the ancestral culture that, in the case of the Negro as of all our other minority folk, has not been entirely lost but continues in some measure to function significantly. If this be the case, then in making the studies on which much of future opinion will rest, or in developing programs of action to meet the practical problems of the present day, we shall be building on a foundation of fact far firmer than we have hitherto been able to build on and shall thus, in direct proportion, be likely to achieve more satisfactory results in understanding and solving the race problem than have thus far been vouchsafed us.

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Conſiſting of eight ſtout men and two women.

To prevent their receiving the infection of the ſmallpox, they have been kept conſtantly on board the veſſel ſince they arrived, where they will be ſold.—Any perſon inclining to purchaſe them at private ſale may apply to Meſſrs. Johnſon and Wylly.

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Marihuana

MAUD A. MARSHALL

MARIHUANA, which because of its increasingly popular use in this country has received so much attention of late in our newspapers and magazine articles, is not a new drug. It has been known and extensively used for 3000 years in the Far East. For marihuana is no other than hashish, a narcotic derived from the leaves, flowers and resin of the hemp plant which is grown for its fiber and its seed. Originally indigenous to Central Asia, hemp has been distributed far over the world, in temperate as well as in warm regions. It has long been found growing as an introduced weed in waste places in the United States and has recently been cultivated here illegally for the drug, marihuana. The word hashish we associate either with life in the Far East or with a relatively restricted class of drug addicts in our own country. It inspires feelings of horror and repugnance which the new word marihuana, used in connection with more familiar surroundings, fails as yet to arouse. By whatever name it may be called, however, the hemp drug well deserves to be feared and dreaded. In an effort to acquaint people with the dangers involved in smoking marihuana an energetic drive, led by our Federal Bureau of Narcotics and the Opium Advisory Committee of the League of Nations, is on.

In Far Eastern countries the active drug principles of the hemp plant are used in various ways. Most commonly the dried flowers of the plant (ganja) or the resin (charas) are mixed with tobacco and smoked, and the dried leaves (bhang) are soaked in water and the infusion taken as a beverage. Sometimes one of these preparations is mixed with sugar to form a confection, the Gaiety Pills of the Sanskrit writings. In the United States the leaves, flowers and resin of the hemp are usually dried, mixed with tobacco and made into cigarettes.

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Why marihuana-smoking should have become so suddenly fashionable in the United States is a riddle not easy to answer. Only since 1930 have our officers of law and order considered marihuana-smoking a serious problem, and satisfactory statistics as to its use here have been and are difficult to secure. All workers in the field of narcotics, whether concerned with the psychological, spiritual, physical, legal or sociological side of addiction, emphasize the difficulty of estimating the extent of a practice necessarily secretive in nature. The estimates vary enormously, giving rise to widely contradictory reports. Some claim that as much as 25 per cent of the population in some of our southern cities are habitual users. Large seizures of the drug in one form or another have been made in all sections of the United States. In spite of inadequate laws for the control of marihuana a single state destroyed 100 tons of it in 1936. Hemp has been discovered concealed between rows of corn in the prison yards of San Quentin and Colorado State, in window-boxes of New York penthouses and in city lots in the Bronx. Undoubtedly marihuana-smoking is widespread. Some say the habit was brought to New York and other large cities by "popular" musicians, who had found in Mexico the cigarette capable of so distorting the sense of time that the rapid and difficult technique of "hot" music could be managed without consciousness of speed or super-agility. Perhaps the recent business depression played some part in determining the moment for the spread of marihuana. It may be that traffic in other narcotic drugs had become so restricted by 1930 as to create an increasing demand for the cheaper and less-feared marihuana. Whatever the cause of the apparent sudden increase in this drug habit, the use of marihuana is growing with such rapidity that within a mere decade it has become a real menace, serious particularly because of its attraction for young people, who turn to it as an aid to the breakdown of conventional restraint and for artificial thrills and "kicks." People of greater maturity feel less need of continual excitement and confirmed addicts of other drugs are seldom satisfied by marihuana, but young people are susceptible victims.

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The obvious and immediate effects produced by the hemp narcotic are release of inhibitions, weakening of will, increased amenableness to suggestion and exaggerated sense of well-being and gaiety. Depending on the dosage and on the mental and emotional nature of the individual concerned, subsequent effects may be apparently harmless or markedly deleterious. All the senses are affected; colors become more vivid, sounds are intensified, time seems long and space limitless. Because the drug dulls the nerves it gives general relief from pain. In many instances the preliminary stimulation soon gives way to apprehension, and to a terror and feeling of persecution which not infrequently lead to violence and crime, sexual aberrations or even suicide. When sleep comes it may be peaceful or it may be disturbed by dreams varying from those of great subjective pleasure to others of extreme horror. Awakening is not generally accompanied by unpleasant after-effects. Individuals vary greatly in their reaction to this drug; seemingly there is no way of predicting how any particular person will be affected. Repeated use of it has led to mental weakness, dullness and an insanity either of a violent sort in which the victim is pursued by terrible sense-illusions, with insomnia and acute mania, or of an imbecile-lethargic kind, resulting in incurable dementia. Physically, addiction to marihuana-smoking is likely to cause bronchitis, dysentery, increased susceptibility to lung diseases, an insecure gait and emaciation. Destructive changes in the brain are sometimes evident. Children of addicts are said to be inferior; in some parts of India, where hashish has long been used to excess, whole communities are imbecilic and morally degraded. A secondary and more serious evil is directly traceable to marihuana: this drug seldom continues to satisfy and often leads to the use of other and more dangerous narcotics. The manner in which hashish acts on the body is as much of a mystery as the action of other drugs. Many theories have been suggested but none fully explains the phenomenon of narcosis.

The present educational campaign against the popular smoking of marihuana might be less difficult to wage if the case

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against hashish were as strong as that against morphine, heroin, laudanum, cocaine and other drugs that have been legally restricted in this country much longer than marihuana. Dangerous as is the hemp drug it is not so insidious as the opium poppy. There is, for example, disagreement as to whether marihuana is habit-forming in the physiological sense. A person accustomed to using it regularly may be suddenly deprived of it without experiencing depression, exhaustion, physical pain or death, which sometimes follow withdrawal of morphine or heroin. Physically the marihuana habit may be broken by simple abstinence, although psychologically the craving for the drug may become so overpowering that the victim will resort to criminal action to secure the stuff. But this habit does not grow with the rapidity of the opium habit; tolerance, requiring constantly increasing doses, is not so quickly acquired. As has already been noted, sleep produced by marihuana leaves no hangover with the return of consciousness. Again, the onset of physical degeneration caused by continued smoking of hemp appears to be long delayed. Several years may pass before deterioration becomes obvious. One hashish addict, admittedly an unusual case, lived for 20 years in spite of excessive use of the drug. Eventually, however, he died insane. Finally, though symptoms may be alarming, no case of death from an overdose of hashish appears to have been recorded.

Although scientific study of the pharmacology of the hemp drug dates only from the middle of the 19th century it is not infrequently mentioned in ancient writings as affording solace in distress, arousing religious hallucinations, inciting to violence or leading to excessive gaiety. The hemp plant existed in Syria at least 700 years before the beginning of the Christian era and much earlier than that in Persia and India. The Vedas and the Mahabharata frequently mention hemp and bhanga,[1] the drink made from it. The Greeks had a word for it, *κανναβιζω*, to smoke with hemp. Some have suggested that Homer's nepenthe was hashish.

[1] It is interesting to note that the Sanskrit word "bhanga" primarily meant frustration, humiliation, downfall, ruin, paralysis.

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Then Helen, daughter of Zeus, took other counsel. Straightway she cast into the wine of which they were drinking a drug [nepenthe] to quiet all pain and strife, and bring forgetfulness of every ill. Whoso should drink this down when it is mingled in the bowl would not in the course of that day let a tear fall down over his cheeks, no, not though his mother and father should lie there dead, or though before his face men should slay with the sword his brother or dear son, and his eyes beheld it.[2]

Herodotus wrote of vapor-baths formed by throwing hemp-seed on hot stones: "the Scythians, transported by the vapor, shout aloud." Mohammedans have long employed hashish as an intoxicant, since wine is forbidden them, and the drug is reported to have been in regular use in the religious ritual of some Mohammedan sects. Our word assassin is believed to be derived from the Arabian word, hashshash, "one who has drunk of hashish."

In modern times accounts of hemp intoxication by Baudelaire, Balzac, Gautier and Ludlow, the "minor De Quincy," were supplemented by the more scientific reports of Dr. J. Moreau of Tours who deliberately took hashish for the purpose of studying its effects. The Hemp Drugs Commission of India, investigating consequences of this drug in a country where its use is closely interwoven with religious and social customs, reported (1893) that moral depravity was produced and intensified and physical and mental injury was brought on by the immoderate use of hashish.

With the recently increasing use of marihuana in the United States opportunities for study have become frequent, at least among the criminal class of users, but reports are still contradictory. Many authorities believe that drug addicts constitute the major class of our criminals, that they are the most violent and most frequent offenders and that the smoking of marihuana actually produces crime, especially sex attacks and murders. In 1934, out of a group of 450 prisoners in New Orleans, 125 were marihuana addicts. Nearly one-half of the murders committed in that city were ascribed to them. Other investigators

[2] *The Odyssey*, Book 4. Translated by Murray, A. T.

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are convinced, however, that marihuana exerts no such direct action but that its effect is due to the release of inhibitions, and that where crime results the tendency to it was present beforehand.

The legal control of marihuana is more difficult than that of most drugs. In the first place the hemp plant may occur as a weed almost anywhere in our country and may easily be secretly cultivated in almost any soil. Its eradication is retarded by the general failure to recognize the plant.[3] In the second place the hemp plant has so many legitimate commercial uses (as sources of fiber, birdseed, oil, etc.) and it grows so readily as a weed that it cannot be absolutely prohibited by law. All permissible uses must of course be protected by legislation directed against the marihuana drug. The Harrison Narcotic Act of the United States Congress, passed in 1914, prohibited the importation of opium poppy and coca leaf, except for medical purposes, but it did not outlaw hemp in any form. Arrests for the misuse of marihuana could therefore he made only when provisions of the Pure Food and Drugs Act had been violated—that is, when adulterated or misbranded goods were offered for shipment between states. Although many states had enacted legislation directed against marihuana their laws were not uniform and were on the whole totally inadequate. The need for federal legislation concerning the newly-popular drug became increasingly apparent and at length the Marihuana Tax Act was passed in the summer of 1937.

Under the terms of this act the word marihuana is defined to cover every part of the hemp plant, whether growing or not,

[3] The hemp plant, cannabis sativa, is a rough branching annual which at flowering time may be from 3 to 16 feet in height. The thick stems and nearly erect branches are not easily broken, for their inner bark, from which the hemp fiber of commerce is obtained, is tough and stringy. The plant is most readily recognized by its leaves; each has a distinct stem or petiole which bears at its tip, arranged digitately, 5 or 7 narrow, thin and flexible leaf segments, each with a conspicuous midrib; they are sharply pointed at both ends and their margins are saw-toothed or serrate. Hemp is dioecious: staminate (male) and pistillate (female) flowers are not borne together on the same plant. Both flowers are small, green, insignificant in appearance and have a characteristic odor. The staminate flowers are loosely arranged in panicles between 3 and 5 inches long whereas the pistillate flowers grow in erect spikes less than an inch long when mature. The seeds are ovoid, with hard and brittle coats.

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capable of yielding the poisonous drug. It does not cover the harmless stalk used for fiber, the oil from the seed, and the seedcake. It requires that seed to be used for birds must be subjected to heat treatment to render them incapable of growth. Since it is only through taxation that our federal government has power to act, the law stipulates that "with the exception of federal, state and municipal officials, every person who imports, manufactures, produces, compounds, sells, deals in, dispenses, prescribes, administers or gives away cannabis or any preparation or derivative thereof covered by the act must register annually in the office of the collector of internal revenue and pay the prescribed tax." These records must be at all times open to state and federal officials and, on written request, to any person. The control of illicit traffic will be greatly facilitated by thus making public all dealings in marihuana. Already many arrests have been made under this law; but too often the penalties, in cases of conviction, have fallen far short of the stated maximum of five years imprisonment or a fine of $5000 or both.

Our government stands in a peculiar position in regard to the marihuana question. The elimination of addiction to other drugs depends largely on rigid law-enforcement and the detection of smuggling at our national boundaries. In hemp the United States has for the first time a drug plant growing at random throughout the countryside—a drug plant that is also cultivated (some 10,000 acres of it) for a commercial purpose, its fiber. Experiments are now in progress to breed out the poisonous narcotic principle from the hemp plant; but even if these are successful the process of achieving any reduction in the supply of marihuana must necessarily be slow. Only the full and intelligent cooperation of the people of the country can cope with the marihuana problem now confronting us.

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Cubism: Requiescat in Pace

JEAN CHARLOT

FASHIONS as they recede in time pass through many qualifying trials before they settle into the perpetually pink light of the dear old past. The most trying moment comes when they are far enough from us to be out of style yet close enough to lack mystery, for we still remember that mother dressed so and that we ourselves used to be thus dolled up as babies. If art were wholly fashion, cubism would therefore be at its lowest ebb now, with cubist pictures piled into ash cans along with the hats of 1915. The impressionist picture is altogether a museum piece, but so are the bustles and "suivez-moi, monsieur" of its generation. Surrealism is so up-to-date as to be the guiding spirit behind shop-window displays. Cubism, hemmed in between them and stripped of all glamor, will indeed need undying qualities, the peer of those of the great schools of art, if at this stage it is to pass through the narrow door of the museum, where neither fashion nor history can vouch for it.

Cubism is still alive, still worshipped, but rather doting. The new-fangled approach to art, irrational, emotional, has permeated the classical structure. Cubism still struts along with the younger fashions, claims surrealist tendencies, but those are rather the worm in the fruit than the feather on the cap. To treat of cubism at its noblest we should limit ourselves to its brown period—1910-1920—when it genuinely pioneered, was serious, constrained even, had no time or taste for the fantastic. Cubism as a discipline of reason is the movement at its most genuine—an impersonal homogeneous art that could have reigned over a unified world with the autocracy of a Le Brun or a David. Cubism has at least succeeded in achieving a dictatorship in the realm of the applied arts. We live in a world streamlined as the cubist helped to create it. Duly grateful for

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its achievements we should inter cubism in History with loving care. This article is intended as its respectful eulogy.

A painting is of course a flat rectangular plane if we describe it as a physical object. But since line and color create illusive space it is nearer to optical truth, even if a departure from factual truth, to compare a painting with a box, lying on its side, its opening coincident with the picture proper. This box is also a minute stage which up to the time of the impressionists had been filled with an assortment of stage-flats whose carefully receding planes helped to carry the eye to a backdrop. The impressionists' dubious novelty radically changed this notion of a limited space trimmed into the layout of a stage. They knocked out the back of the box, and thus exposed whatever natural disorder—trees, skies, haystacks—happened to be behind it. But by making space limitless the impressionist at the same time weakened its esthetic value. The somewhat quaint arrangements of the past had brought recessions from flat to flat into mathematical relationship, had played upon spatial intervals as one plays upon musical intervals. But this could happen only when all the distances involved were measurable and comparable with each other. The infinite space of the impressionist became a joker in the game, for you cannot behold, divide or compare the infinite. Intended as an improvement on the finite, it greatly impaired instead the whole structure of art. Cubism's most important step was to nail back into place the discarded back of the box. That Cubism filled the box with solids in a somewhat over-zealous way until it looked like a packed croquet-box does not alter the great achievement. Sobered by the impressionist binge into space the cubist dropped horizons to play with blocks; but blocks are measurable, comparable, and as such are fit units for creating exact beauty.

Impressionism, proud of its knowledge that painting's reason for being lies in the mental image it creates, is somewhat unkind to the painting as an object. It forces the spectator away from the painting, blurs his vision at close range until by stepping backwards to focus properly his more than arm-length

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range hinders him from finding a tactile correlation to what his eye sees. The impressionist wants his painting to become a mirage, a protoplasmic entity that the frame limits only uncertainly. The cubist, opposed to his father's ways, gathers unto himself the physical picture—the tight drum made of canvas stretched on a wooden scaffolding; rather despising optical values he insists on tactile values—not illusive ones either but good sandpaper or corrugated board pasted on the picture. The fluffy contours that dissolve into air give place to honest lines stiffened after the ways of ruler and compass. Cubism, utterly weary of color, that treacherous element which makes a Monet out of a picture when you don't watch, safely limits itself to a tobacco-juice brown, snatched while still fresh from the palette of the academic painter. The four edges of the canvas, disdained by the impressionist, become dictatorial under the new order; the web of lines they imprison derives from them proportion, direction, the angularity of the inner design. In the same way the optical box or stage forces all the solids within its walls to ape its architecture: it becomes the paragon of all the cubes to be found in cubism.

There is a great nobility in this hunger for chains. This acknowledgment of limits is not only heroic but classic. And this discipline has received a fitting reward: the nut-brown aura which haloes the cubist picture turns it into a museum-piece before its time; to this day leaves the benighted amateur highly respectful if slightly bored. It is also appropriate to this classic vein that personality was taboo in those early days and that Braque and Picasso did not blush if they misnamed each other's pictures. Because the painting was considered mainly as an object the painter became a kind of tradesman rather than a superman. Each cult must have its idols, and the impressionist had enshrined Turner. It is characteristic of the cubist that he should enthrone the house painter rather than any one master. This workman could lay a tone flat, freed from the tremolo of Monet. He was a sound technician and used two thin coats of pigment rather than one fat one bound to crack.

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His subdued palette was careful of the retina. When he traced straight lines he used a ruler; when he traced fancy lines he pushed the paint through a stencil. Confiding in mechanical means, he escaped the narcissist attitude of the impressionist whose own wrist and eye were his gods. The cubist also hailed the sign painter as great, for among the infinite combination of lines that we may use, letters are the most spiritual, their mental content having drained them forever of any sensual connotation. Each letter is a masterpiece of design, better attained by mathematical computation with compass and ruler than by improvisation. Letters were so suitable to the cubist ideal that the painter spattered A's, O's and E's over his picture with a zest similar to that of a Monet juggling with sunbeams. The master cubist, distrusting his hand (which verily was not as well trained as that of the sign painter), preferred scissors and paste-pot to the brush. Fragments of newspapers embellish his picture, for what freehand version could match the beautiful impersonality of the printer's product. In this same vein of common sense Fernand Leger exalted the show windows of haberdashers and hatters as masterpieces of composition—not the expensive shops which employ artists and extraneous material to round up the effect but those in which the small shopkeeper presents ties, hats and shirts in rigid ranks of solids spaced with care.

But though the painter, dropping beret and beard and endorsing overalls, prided himself on being a working man, though he built his picture with as much physical soundness as if it were a chair or a table, the picture refused to play this soothing game—to become, as the painter wished it to become, a common-sense object. In fact the cubist picture became a slightly more puzzling object than the impressionist one. The latter had educated people to a kind of vision which had become second nature. The eye and the brain had become exquisitely disconnected. One dared not swear to the roundness of a tree trunk, the cubicalness of a house, but things rippled amorphously into nothing, the world at large was camouflaged

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under the sheen of a Harlequin's coat of blue shadows and yellow lights. The cubist's job was to switch on the current again between brain and eye, between what one saw and what one knew; to bring mental help to the eye which had grown hypertrophied, had run amok as if possessing an animal life of its own.

We learn from the writings of Raphael that he painted not so much from the model as from a vision or pattern which existed in his mind only, and that this vision was of a circular kind. And the more beautiful the madonnas he created the more are they unlike the women we elbow. The bulk of their features and of their hair weakens, flattens itself onto the larger volume of the skull, until the head perceptibly glorifies itself into a sphere. In Ingres, who drank deep of Raphael, we have rubber-like arms, necks and joints in which the bones soften to give way to cylindrical beauty. The shoulder and bosom lines lose their substance to become the trails to each arcs of circles whose movement would not be responsive to each ripple of fabric or muscle. In Seurat we have archaic bodies which swell or narrow equally round, irrelevant of how nature may wish it. They are related to the Nuremberg toys of turned wood, to the legs of chairs and to Ionic columns rather than to the science of the anatomist or to the optical blandness of the photographer. Those masters could conceive such sights only when the connection between eyes and brain had been so clarified and strengthened that the brain could give orders to nature —which the eye, a kibitzer, beholds overgrown with parasitic débris.

The cubist came back to the classical approach, the intellectual vision articulate as a well-balanced phrase, in contrast to the impressionist's vision which is more in the nature of an exclamation or an intaking of breath. When at the click of his eyelid Monet's wrist started to work, his brush did little but record what was before his eye. Lured by the accidental he could not elevate his art to the generic. Intellectual vision treats of genus and type, lowers itself to individual examples with

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effort. How often, in portraits of men painted by the classic Renoir, we feel by tearing off the trick moustaches and beards, prying open the collars, we shall uncover his rotund feminine paragon, the Gabrielle who was not his cook at all, whatever history tells us, but rather a type whose origin existed in this artist's own mind—a type which his earthly models reflected more or less but all imperfectly. As with Raphael or Renoir, Picasso's vision tends to general concepts. The square bottle which he paints is more than a particular bottle, for by whirling around its axis it establishes a void into which all bottles—of whatever profile, lip or belly—may be fitted.

Cubism by putting brainwork back into vision infuriated people—and who knows if it was a blessing to tear them away from their sunsets and their rainbows of lyrical moods. After all we know that houses are cubes and that skulls are egg-shaped; and as an escape from facts what is more tempting than to stand on our heads and look at scrambled reflections in the water and make believe that this omelette is a dream-world.

The eye, Monet's god, became with the cubists an invalid that had to be handled firmly if gently. Making their own Félibien's saying (1670) that the eye is easily deceived, they brought aids to the eye to correct its mirage. Something is hazy and shimmers in the sun. Come, pass your fingers over its surface, feel its hardness, its smoothness or roughness, such qualities as remain true even in darkness. You see a table with its sides running back to a horizon line, its farther side smaller than its frontal. Stop looking, correct this mistake by measuring each side and see that they are all equal; use a square and understand that all angles meet at 90 degrees even though your eye fancies them acute or obtuse. Italian perspective and its bastard son, the academic style, had immobilized the spectator into a single point of view, had even bade him close an eye so as not to be disturbed by twin images. Cubism took the spectator out of his cramped position at this peep-hole, recognized the fact that man has two eyes. Many of those idiosyncracies at which

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Cézanne's critics scoff—tables that disappear behind a bottle to reappear at a different level or at cocky angles, cubic bodies that show their thickness on too many sides—are a simple acknowledgment of our binocular vision. The cubist, however, liberates and instructs the spectator further. He bids him shuffle his feet too, walk around the object and gather a variety of data to be memorized and superimposed in a composite glyph which stands for the object. The cubist makes the heads that we see full front unhinge themselves at the nose to exhibit their profile. Not only does the spectator walk; he flies to observe the lips of the bottle as a full circle, he burrows and the bottom of the glass becomes a circle too. The power to free man from the straightjacket and the eye-blinkers of the academic vision, to transform the single point of view into the multiple one of an up-to-date movie camera, will excuse whatever coarseness may have marred the means.

The impressionist dabbled in astrology. The fragile dialogues between object and shadow which he loved to paint were at the mercy of celestial influences; his haystacks were the fingers of an ever-changing dial. Monet revolved, a minute planet himself, around his model, followed by his daughter pushing a wheelbarrow piled with canvases, one for each mood and fancy of his master, the sun. One is reminded of the apologue of the realist painter who, tackling a still life, achieved perfect duplicates of the marble chimney, the vases on both sides of the clock and the bronze statuette on top of it but was defeated throughout a lifetime by the dial whose hands he could not match.

The cubist broke this enslavement. He was forced to utilize light since it is the only means a painter has to reveal volume, but his light was not that of the sun. A diffused emanation, obedient to form, it bathed the object in inverse ratio to its distance from the picture plane. No fancy beam played on his stage; shadows were as absent from his peculiar climate as they are in things seen in dream. The effect produced was akin to that obtained by chemical photography or infra-red

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rays in the dark. Though the impressionist was naive in his sun-worship, his open window will forever afford the layman good air. The cubist picture lives in a limbo where the seasons of the year, the time of day are forgotten.

The cubist's itch to put his hand on the object, to pat its angles and test out its texture with his cheek, brought the model under the painter's very nose or even nearer. Picasso, asked how he proceeded to paint fish, answered "I eat it first." The veil of atmosphere, whose mystery had intoxicated the nature-lover of yore, was rent. The painter had become anatomist, dissecting guitar and bottle—the wood or glass here, the profile there, the elevation, the plan, the slice. Space had been the impressionists' subject matter. It had reduced the bones of trees and mountains to a jelly, had digested solids into a fog, had ebbed in and out of the picture like a breath. The cubist came to shun space and lavished his care on volume. His was a world of solids unwilling to make place for skies and clouds. The breath of life, the throbbing which keeps impressionist painting alive, was unwelcome in the cubist limbo. Natural shapes were solidified into crystal forms—or rather, shunning the sheen of crystal, into those wooden models of cubes, cones and cylinders over which the musty aroma of the classroom shelf still hovers.

The cubist concept of the world was so close to that of the sculptor that he borrowed some of the sculptor's means. A painter's space is the emptiness which gathers around a volume from the outside. A sculptor's sense of space is no more than a gauging of the volume, similar to the innate awareness each of us has of his own body, traveling within the spaces of the skull, determining the capacity of the chest by the volume of air inhaled. This voyaging through matter is obligatory with the sculptor who cannot create more distance than lies between one corner of his marble block and the other. Though the painter can include the world, up to the horizon, in his canvas, the cubist limits himself consciously to problems similar to those of the sculptor. But this concentration upon inner cub-

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ing, when applied to others than ourselves, comes close to the instinct of a ripper: it was not long till the cubist dismembered his models, exhibited piecemeal the fragments that constitute the whole, found the inventory of a body more exciting than its integrity.

The abandonment of visual means, however, had one superb advantage—that the artist got rid of the presence of the model. The sunlight and air which the man who painted landscapes inescapably absorbed were no doubt beneficial to his health but they had little connection with the painting trade. Whatever attention the painter gave his model was subtracted from the making of his picture. Painting as manual labor is a precise activity not unlike that of a druggist weighing and mixing the components of a prescription and as such requires concentration and quiet. I doubt that even a watchmaker could put together a watch in the open with the sun playing rainbows on his metals or with cows mooing and flies buzzing. No wonder the impressionist had to replace painting, as tradition had known it, by a kind of shorthand, a hit-or-miss lack of technique that was the only possible approach under such improper conditions. At last, with the advent of cubism, the painter, accepting the making of a painting as his job, became the stay-at-home an artisan should be. He put his knapsack and folding seat to rest and pottered in the workshop. This was no innovation but a return to normal. Cennino relates that when the Giottesque wanted to paint a mountain he brought a stone to his studio and copied it at the desired scale. The cubist, a man of less faith, doubting that the mountain would come to him, compromised with common sense and chose to paint indoor objects—the pipe, the bottle, Cézanne's fruits and table. His was, of course, a partisan choice: such objects better served his contention that nature is made of cubes, cones and cylinders than would have, let us say, a swan or a rose.

This modesty of subject-matter was also a judicious choice, for the cubist, who planned to hack his subject to pieces, preferred to pick on something small that had no comeback, just

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as a boy intent on fun would rather pluck the wings off a fly than tackle a bull-dog. Thus both impressionists and cubists, in agreement for once, left alone those noble subjects, historical and dramatic, in which classic painters delighted. Yet their subjects, casual as they are, differ in more than the outdoor and indoor label. The impressionist tackles a tree at the moment when the sun glorifies it into a crystal chandelier. Water, to interest him, must teem with more reflections than there are bacteria in its physical make-up. The impressionist covers nature with gauze and glitter, haloes her with trick lighting before kneeling at her feet—and, like the man who drowns his food in ketchup, leaves us in doubt as to its real worth.

The cubist takes his nature straight. Even if he rips her as a child a doll he does it with the child's serious and realistic intent. Ignoring the enchantments of light and distance the cubist can hold a pipe, a bottle, in his hand and truly delight in their shape and texture. Because he is the first man of our modern world to recognize function as beauty, the pictures painted in the teens of this century are prophetic of the world to be. His approach has become that of our architects and engineers. We live in a world streamlined by the influence of those very men of 1910 whose work we now pretend is obsolete.

The cubists choice of subject matter is also more humanistic than that of a Monet. Monet's eye, for physical rather than for philosophic reasons, had sided with the Chinese. His mountains, streams, trees, even if they do not mirror, as the oriental landscape does, a precise articulation of the metaphysical, bespeak the abandonment of man as the center of the world. The aerial bulk which is the unspoken subject of all impressionist pictures reminds one of the wheel of Lao-Tseu which revolves around a hub of nothingness. The cubist hammered a self-centered axle into this hub: his very choice of objects was strictly limited to those in human use. Smoking, drinking, playing music were the gentle activities with which his pictures dealt. When he packed all objects tightly inside the precise limits of the canvas, as a kernel within its shell, an order born of man

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reigned anew. The world became cozy again, so full of solids that no inkling of the surrounding icy spaces remained. The comeback to the mummy-brown sauce was not merely a technical quirk. It is significant that the painter cornered by a too-luxurious creation had taken refuge in Caravaggio's cave where the retina of his sun-bathed eye could again expand to normal size. The return to the studio brought the painter back also to the friendly nakedness of four walls, a floor and a ceiling. There was utter affinity between man and his surroundings. The cubist lived and labored inside a cube.

In its early days cubism lived in the same state of mental intoxication that the early Renaissance had known. It was actuated by no scruples about mussing up the actual plane of a picture, no Byzantine taboo that would make the painting flat as a carpet. We sense rather the excitement of digging back of the picture with diagonal lines moving swift and straight and interweaving like arrows in the thick of a battle. The high mental climate of the period, suggested by the monotony of the color, was repeated in the labyrinth of planes, of solids that crystallized only to vanish into other solids, exhausting all alleys of investigation. A head, a hand was hammered triumphantly into those solids of 64 facets which Uccello delighted to draw. His laws of perspective and Francesca's treatises on geometry are marked by the same cold fever that seized the pioneer cubists, intent on translating passion into terms of ruler and compass.

At that early stage a great future was predicted for cubism. Its quasi-scientific and factual content, especially its connection with the mathematics of architecture, made it an ideal mural vehicle. Its objectivity in handling pigment could have opened the door to the use of a group of apprentices covering a wall under the supervision of a master, as had been customary in centuries past. Its textural qualities—imitation of wood and marble, use of printed letters—had already linked it with mural painting of the sturdier sort. It should have produced a school of men who, scorning personal squabble, would have

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renewed the monumental arts in Gothic fashion. In a way it failed. Yet we must remember that critics had also scored impressionism for its lack of heroic achievements. They had called its landscapes and still-lives mere sketches, trial balloons for the art-to-come that would use the impressionist technique as a tool for the expression of noble anecdotes. Some painters—like Albert Besnard and Henri Martin—who believed in critics followed this recipe for true greatness, but their names are already forgotten. One is reminded of the score of small men of the 16th century who, adding the color of Titian to the drawing of Michelangelo, succeeded only in making themselves ridiculous.

Cubism may have failed the letter of the prophecies made at its cradle but these prophecies were fulfilled in spirit. Instead of the murals predicted for churches and palaces, cubist posters perform in subways, streets and magazines. The printing press, which has multiplied the work of the cubist, has been more impersonal, more obedient to the spirit of the master-artist than any group of helpers could be. But cubism has also bred a group of mural painters, those Mexicans whose influence in turn is slowly modifying the place accorded art in the Americas, is changing it from a ladies' club topic into a potent social weapon. Cubism is linked so organically with mural painting that, though Rivera and Orozco occupy the same position with relation to cubism that Besnard and Martin had had to impressionism, the Mexican muralists will no doubt escape a similar fate.

The later phase of cubism has been so at variance with its early stages that the movement seems like the serpent that swallows itself. But like the serpent, notwithstanding its suicidal intent, it is nevertheless nourished by its own substance. Picasso's Greek period, for example, is nearer his brown one than appearances would suggest. The same unnatural light, subservient to volume, that characterized the still-lives of his early painting days makes his human mannikins bulge. Their plaster-cast look, which made people nickname this his Canova

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period, obeys the same restraint which in his still-lives drained the color from the fruit and now refuses to rouge the lips of his human creations. The impassive features bespeak impersonal aims; the hugeness of limbs, the heaviness of fabrics teased by no wind, relates these bodies more closely to the cones and cylinders of his early pictures than to flesh. The "Greek" subject matter is chosen with the slightly too-obvious classic intent at which his brown patina of yore had aimed. He is still eagerly courting the museum.

Cubism was perhaps greatest when it was groping, trying its best, hoping. Arrived at the top it sits on its conquest, relaxes and is inclined to levity. Those formalized lines of its early stages that nestled amorously close to ruler and compass have given way to a kind of free-hand scribble; its limited palette has been succeeded by an orgy of Matisse-pinks and coal-tar dyes. The scribble is an activity natural on a scale where wrist and fingers perform it. When imitated on the gigantic scale of Picasso's latest work the movements of wrist and fingers enlarged to such inhuman size suppose as the doodler not a man but rather an air-inflated giant, *à la* Giulio Romano, come to life. The novel addition of color weakens instead of strengthens the linear skeleton still very much in evidence, brings unwanted dramatic effects which neutralize the sober core. Cubism thereby turns against itself, commits hara-kiri in front of those dark romantic gods who hate its classical hide. The stage is set for surrealism.

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In the Workshop

Charting the Course of Chemistry

PAUL BIXLER

How does a scientist make certain that his experiment has not been accomplished before? How does he learn what his colleagues in Germany, Japan, and Rhodesia are doing? Books are out of the question, for their production is too slow to keep pace with the scientific speed-up. If he turns to the technical magazines, which contain the original records of scientific discovery, he is met with a welter of print vast enough to discourage him. It is from this reading dilemma that the scientist is rescued by the abstract journal —a publication which extracts the principal facts from papers printed elsewhere and neatly tags them in an index. Without this tool no modern laboratory (and incidentally no technical library) could function.

Scientific digests, or abstract journals, were known to the world of science long before the man in the street grew fond of his more popular magazine digests. Germany knew them a hundred years ago, and in France and England similar publications were established shortly after the middle of the last century. American science was slow to come of age, and though a number of scientific periodicals were being regularly published in the 'nineties, it was still the custom among some Americans to send their best work abroad. Shortly after the turn of the century, the American Chemical Society, only recently become national, took a hand in a needed renaissance and among other moves, not now so well remembered, established *Chemical Abstracts*.

For various reasons this journal, published at Ohio State University, has had a remarkable growth. Similar journals exist in Europe, yet it stands unrivalled today with a circulation of 14,000. Its pages are consulted in every civilized country on the globe and in some not so civilized. Physicists and biologists as well as chemists await its semi-monthly issues.

Historically chemistry stands in a middle position; it was preceded by mathematics and physics, and followed by geology and biology.

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It has more ramifications and is more "practical" than the first pair, and is further developed than the last. However these facts affect its position, chemistry has taken much of its power and development from its close association with industry. American chemistry, coming late on the scene, was never split so sharply between "pure" and "applied" as was the leading foreign chemistry. At its beginning in 1907 under the brilliant leadership of Dr. W. A. Noyes, *Chemical Abstracts* was the only publication of its type to include industrial as well as pure articles. It set off on a campaign of completeness that only stopped at the furthermost outposts of chemistry. It digested patents; it noted books. It examined journals, whatever their language and whoever their publisher. Today it abstracts from 31 languages over 3000 periodicals.

Just what is an abstract? Webster defines it as a "summary" or "epitome." E. J. Crane, the editor, says that a good abstract is informational rather than descriptive; "the more important actual results should be reproduced instead of a mere statement as to what may be found by turning to the original paper." For an abstractor trying to boil down an article of 2500 words to a length of a hundred or so this is something to keep in mind! Yet it is the size of the journal rather than its detail which most astonishes. In the last ten years more than half a million articles have passed through its digesting mill. An average issue runs to 200 three-column pages.

Crane, who is reticent about himself, would say that the key to his publication's success is "co-operation." He is general of morale over a staff of 25 office workers (40 when, as at present, a decennial index is in process), five associate editors, 51 assistant editors, and 443 abstractors, a number of them located halfway around the world. Blushing in an intimate moment, he has admitted to being a better editor than chemist and a better administrator than editor. You take it that he has had to be.

He handles his problems with a scattered staff by remote control. Since 1930 he has published a "family bulletin" called *The Little C. A.* In its columns he advertizes for an abstractor who can read Esthonian or Bulgarian, prints biographical sketches of worthy staff members, scolds the users of inaccurate English, in general urges, advises and commends. He will write a short editorial under the heading, "Good Enough Is Not Good Enough"; plug the line, "Remember October 23 is the deadline date and keep it wholly"; and once he printed the suggestion of an abstractor that the "docte et gentil Rabelais," who subscribed himself, "Abstracteur de quinte essence" be elected the

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journal's patron saint. The little bulletin has become its editor's hobby—and an indispensable means of editorial coördination.

The "C. A." stylebook contains over a hundred precise rules. Long ago Crane indicated his belief that truth in scientific writing is just as important as exactness in the laboratory, and he has said succinctly, "Abstracts can be comfortable if not delightful reading." An abstractor's manuscript is read three times, and one of the readings is in the interest of good English.

More difficult than the writing and publishing of abstracts, according to Crane, is the problem of indexing. More than half a million abstracts in the past ten years make an enormous storehouse of chemical knowledge, but of what use would it be without a key to particular vaults? Such a key is the Third Decennial Index, which the *Chemical Abstracts* office has just completed after a labor of three years.

The published work, containing both author and subject entries, appears in five volumes on a total of 9000 pages. The entries run over two million, three times the number in the latest edition of *Webster's New International Dictionary*. Merely listing the authors is no simple affair.

Several thousand letters were sent out from Columbus to make certain that a specific Fischer was not Fisher and a certain Hoffmann was not Hoffman, Hufman, Huffman, or Huffmann. There was the job of putting Russian, Japanese and Chinese names into phonetic English and of interpreting those already transliterated by a method different from that the journal uses. There were women scientists who had married Spaniards who sometimes used the father's surname and again both mother's and father's surnames (not, of course, so much of a problem in the past two years), and company names which had changed through reorganization. But the biggest trouble-maker was probably the scientist in Timbuctoo who signed only his last name or who varied this game by occasionally adding a given name or initials.

Making up the index under subject headings is the hardest job of all. Here the chief problem is nomenclature. In this work Crane has been ably assisted by Dr. Austin M. Patterson, a former editor of the journal and still the chief American authority on chemical terminology. Every year chemistry turns up an average of 7000 new compounds, each of which may be, and often is, christened in several different ways. Patterson's day-to-day persistence in logically standardizing terms has been invaluable in the cause of greater ease in research. For many years he has been editor of chemical terms for *Webster's New International Dictionary*, and it is still possible for a chemist, uncertain of what he is searching for in the tre-

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mendous indexes of *Chemical Abstracts*, to find his first clue in the dictionary.

Good subject indexing, in its furthest ramifications, is an acute test in three elements not necessarily associated—chemical knowledge, common sense, and mind reading. Knowing the implications of a given article is not enough for the omnipotent indexer. What words, he also has to ask himself, will the reader most likely search under?

I have said nothing about patents, which make up a third of the journal's entries. I have only hinted at the chemical abstract journals in other countries, and mentioned not at all similar journals in fields like psychology, mineralogy, and engineering. There are physicists who prefer the form of *Science Abstracts* with its simpler make-up, fuller detail, and greater speed in publication, and there are biologists willing to fight for *Biological Abstracts*, a journal which has been in the midst of financial trouble. But for the present at least, other publications follow rather than precede *Chemical Abstracts*.

Chemistry is almost as international as government, and as a science is not too tightly bound by precedent and tradition. Chemists have recently discussed the possibility of establishing an international publication office. To such an office would come a transcript of every chemical paper wherever offered for publication. Papers would be microphotographed and film copies sent to key libraries throughout the world, there to be consulted without interference or change by editorial middlemen. As a scheme this may have its difficulties and drawbacks. But for reasons not too subtle, when better methods of esoteric communication are invented, chemistry will probably invent them.

Oriental Education in American Colleges

NEVILL LASCELLES-WARD

DURING the past months our newspapers have printed daily reports on the situation in China and Japan. But how many of our American college graduates have had sufficient background in the history and geography of those two countries to interpret the stories with intelligence?

Amidst all the changes being made in the curriculum of American colleges, one outstanding branch of knowledge is being systematically overlooked, the civilizations of the Far East. It is quite true that our high school and college students get a smattering of Egypt, Assyria and the Near East, but these are civilizations which, now dead or dying, are being built up by the impact of American or European ways of life. On the

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other hand, in the Far East are Oriental countries which are very much alive today and functioning as modern civilizations, based firmly on the foundation of their ancient institutions. I speak of course, of India, Japan and China.

In Japan there is a modern Emperor based upon an ancient Mikado cult; a Japanese Diet and House of Peers, based upon the old feudal system and the Shogunate; a system of chivalry and ethics based upon the doctrine of Bushido and the Samurai; the softness of a nature-loving, flower-loving people, derived from their Shintoism and Buddhism; and a soul-development of their own, born in the 250 years of enforced isolation before the advent of Commodore Perry in 1853.

Four years of an American college turns out a supposedly educated person with an A.B. degree —but one who knows absolutely nothing about the history, literature or art of a people numbering 75 millions. Nor does he know the names of the books and authors to whom he can turn for information. He may even be a history major, but if so he is one who has left out of his panorama 75 million people.

Furthermore, this graduate has also failed to take into his arena of learning the vast expanse of China, with its present-day population of 480 million people. Added to the 75 millions in Japan, they make a total of 555 millions, of whom he has not made any study whatsoever. He has spent many a laborious college semester on the history of Mexico, or even of Canada with its small population of 10 or 15 million. But of Chinese history and civilization or of Japanese history and development? Not a word.

Let us suppose that this student also leaves out of his course all knowledge of India, of the 350 millions in India. Except for the name of Gandhi he would probably not be able to answer the simplest questions regarding this mystic land of the East, with its population of 905 millions.

It is true that certain of our larger universities, such as Columbia, Harvard and Chicago, have excellent Oriental departments. But their subjects are elective. It is quite possible to obtain a degree even at these institutions and yet be totally ignorant of the background of these millions of people.

At present there is on foot a movement to remedy this situation. Japan's growing naval and military prowess and her war in China, China's pre-war modernization and increasing importation into this country of her art objects, the self-assertion and self-government of India as a member of the British Commonwealth, are all forcing these countries into the forefront of our attention. Let us hope that this movement receives the support it deserves.

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Discussion

Forth to Peace

To the Editor:

In his able article in the Autumn 1938 AMERICAN SCHOLAR, A. J. Muste effectively points out mistakes that have been made in the applications of collective security; he shows certain inconsistencies in the arguments that are made for it; but he has not changed the fundamental thesis—that there must be international law and order if the world is to have peace.

Within the past few years an economic change has come over the world so overwhelming that few people have yet realized it. That change is the disappearance of the frontier and the ending of the period of colonial expansion. Much of history is devoted to the discovery of new parts of the earth. Today every inch of the earth is claimed and, furthermore, the world has become so closely knit that a military incident anywhere sets in motion a train of consequences eventually involving everyone. The agreement at Munich and the threatened sell-out of Spain intensify the conflict in the Far East, and the American people, many of whom have vowed never again to be involved in a European conflict, may find themselves facing such an involvement through the seizure of Canton.

Certainly the abolition of war is the imperative task of our generation. Indeed, the world has reached the place where it must prevent aggression for the same reasons that our forefathers on the western frontier determined that law violation must cease in their communities. Those who generally advocate neutrality for the United States and oppose the thesis of sanctions use certain justifiable criticisms of the way collective security has developed, to attack the fundamental principles of collective security itself. For illustration, they make much of the point that the nations that have tried to enforce peace did not make comparable efforts to provide for peaceful change. With this I most emphatically agree. It will be remembered that when the League of Nations Covenant was being drafted, collective security and peaceful change were two nicely balanced paragraphs of the same article. The first part of the article provided for the maintenance of the territorial integrity of the member states; the second paragraph gave the Assembly the right to examine conditions in the world that were a menace to peace. Unfortunately this article was divided. The first paragraph became the much-debated Article 10; the second paragraph, providing for peaceful change, became Article 19. The disuse of Article 19 is partly responsible for the dilemma in which the world finds itself today. I assume that anyone who is arguing for a particular point of view may define his own terms. Consequently I submit that a continuing process for the improvement of world conditions, for the provision of international social and economic justice, for freer access to raw materials and for peaceful reexamination of dangerous political situations is the logical counterpart to the enforcement of peace. To debate which comes first is useless. They must come together.

Those opposed to collective security also argue that we cannot divide the world into policemen and gangsters. The evidence they can find on this point seems damaging. We have considered the United States, France, Great Britain, the Scandinavian powers, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, South America, Russia, China etc. as on the side of law and order, as over against three or four nations whose conduct is that of international gangsters. But Chamberlain at Munich showed a surprising fondness for the gangsters and a desire to prevent those on the side of law and order from making a settlement in harmony with the rules of the community of nations. An advocate of collective security has difficulty in answering the question "Do you regard Great Britain with a Tory government as being on the side of peace and justice?" But the dilemma is embarrassing to both sides in this debate. Certain people in the United States most opposed to collective security announce that they are supporting Chamberlain 100 per cent, apparently because they believe Chamberlain is facilitating the processes of peaceful change. Millions of Czechs and

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Austrians aghast at the destruction of their democratic institutions and pounding their heads against closed frontiers in an effort to escape as refugees do not see anything very peaceful in the change.

The idealists on the side of neutrality apparently do not see that the development from a world without law, as in 1914, to a world in which governments honestly respect the obligations of the Kellogg Pact and the League of Nations Covenant—and are willing to sacrifice to enforce them—is a matter of slow, painful evolution.

The nations today have established adequate laws against war and machinery for their enforcement. In not a single instance where a dispute has been brought to the League of Nations has the League failed clearly and unanimously to determine the aggressor. The judgment has been so universally accepted that the government of the United States has sometimes associated itself with it and not even American pacifists have disagreed. It is true that such judgment is based upon the resort to arms, irrespective for the moment of certain injustices the aggressor may have suffered. If a man is caught robbing his neighbor he is guilty of breaking the law. Society, to maintain order, should and does concern itself with the abolition of poverty and economic injustice so that there may be less likelihood that criminals who will want to rob their neighbors will develop. But in a crisis, law violation is the first concern.

It is regrettable that governments are selfish; that the France of Briand may become the France of Pierre Laval; that the Britain of Arthur Henderson may become the Britain of Chamberlain; that the America of Woodrow Wilson may sink to the mediocrity of the America of Warren G. Harding. But this situation is not a denial of the fundamental thesis of collective security; it is rather a challenge to the forces of education and civilization to see to it that men and women are so well informed on moral issues that they will force their governments to respect international obligations.

Although Mr. Muste criticizes the believers in collective security for dividing the world too easily into the sheep and the goats, he is guilty of an over-simplification in dividing the world into the "haves" and the "have-nots." Indeed, some exponents of this theory have such a Treaty-of-Versailles complex that they have been heard to refer to Italy, Germany and Japan as the "have-not" victims of the Treaty of Versailles, although Italy and Japan were on the receiving end rather than on the losing end of that treaty. They forget the many nations, like the Scandinavian powers, which could not be put in the so-called "have" class but have built up a rich civilization through the exchange of goods and ideas and are loyal members of the society of nations. The idea that the so-called "have-not" nations can be satisfied by giving them the right to tyrannize over others through a transfer of colonies, for example, is a strange point of view for pacifists to take. Undoubtedly there are tremendous economic injustices, but they can be corrected only through an adjustment in the economic life of the world, and that is possible only through a high degree of cooperation by means of international machinery such as the League of Nations.

There can very definitely be a gangster nation —by which I do not mean that the people of that country have fundamentally changed, but that the conduct of the nation through its government and army can be that of an international gangster. Must we say that other nations, because they have been sinners in the past, have no right to stop such a gangster? Take Japan's conduct for illustration. The army's seizure of Manchuria in 1931 was abhorrent to the peace leaders of Japan, some of whom hoped that the League of Nations would invoke sanctions as a means to stop the army and help the liberal elements in the country preserve Japanese liberties. In the course of time the Lytton Commission was sent to Manchuria. I sometimes wonder why the advocates of peaceful change do not make more of the historical significance of the Lytton Commission. The world society, expressing itself through the League of Nations, sent a commission to the Far East to assist in determining the facts of aggression and in recommending a peaceful solution to the dispute. While recognizing the essential Chinese character of Manchuria and the necessity that it remain part of China, and while denying the validity of Japan's claims for justification of her military adventure, the Lytton Commission recognized Japan's special economic interests in that area, and recommended a program for an international policing of Manchuria that would permit Japan to continue her business there, protected by law and order. The Commission worked out plans for recognition of Japan's special interests and a program for Japanese-Chinese collaboration.

But the Japanese militarists wanted prestige, not justice; blood, not peace; so they forced their government to recognize "Manchukuo" a few days before the Lytton Report was brought in. Since that time Japan has increased her aggression in China until one-fourth of the population of the world is involved in hostilities. It passes my understanding how anyone can label Japan's con-

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duct today anything other than that of a gangster and how anyone can deny the right of the community of nations to use every means to stop it.

As to the war-like character of economic sanctions it is true, as Mr. Muste says, that a hard-pressed aggressor may regard them as acts of war. But if they are applied by the overwhelming majority of nations these nations have little to fear. The application of economic sanctions might be speeded up by some military activity. Had the French and British chosen to close the Suez Canal, Mussolini would have been stopped immediately.

Although there are those who say the British abandoned sanctions against Italy because their continuance might have led to military hostilities, others claim they were suspended because they were working too well, and that the British Tory government concluded their success would mean the overthrow of Mussolini, followed possibly by a government more to the left. Such an outcome was abhorrent to the British Tories. Military unpreparedness on the part of Britain may have played its part in arousing Tory fear of Mussolini during the sanctions period; it may have influenced them to surrender to Hitler at Munich; but it is also quite possible that the Tory government emphasized British unpreparedness to distract the nation's attention from motives less creditable.

Mr. Muste makes an important point when he says "Had England placed battleships in the way of Italian troopships and thus sided with Ethiopia no one would have labelled this anything but an act of war—justifiable or not, but in any case war." Obviously such military action must first of all be approved by the recognized governing bodies of the society of nations and, when undertaken, must carry an international flag rather than the flag of any individual nation. Our pacifist friends have great difficulty in distinguishing between individual and collective force. The sheriff becomes impersonal, the servant of the community and not an agent for himself. The same procedure must follow the use of force in international affairs. Today nations may be said to be in the vigilante stage in the development of collective security. There was a time in the history of San Francisco when the lawless elements outnumbered those wishing to enforce peace; and collective security, as represented by the idea that law should be enforced by the majority of the citizens, existed only in theory. Vigilantes restored a rough kind of order and after a long process of time and experience real law and order were established.

Mr. Muste is on safer ground when he notes the factors that entered into the successful establishment of a "large-scale political federation, the United States, out of the Thirteen Colonies." But the creation of the American union was the result of a process of evolution extending over more than 200 years during which the colonies passed through the colonial wars and the "critical period" between the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution. Many years later, moreover, their union was menaced by Civil War. In that long period there were many parallels to the hopelessness, the discouragements, the injustices which characterize the effort at international union today.

In his conclusion Mr. Muste states that when economic justice is established an international police force will be unnecessary. He implies that that justice will bring peace at all times. But the experience of mankind in its efforts to build a civilized society shows that at times insane asylums, police and other forms of restraint are necessary. It is incredible that two billion people in the world who wish peace have not the right to take such police action as may be necessary to save the lives of millions of men.

Those of us who believe in collective security will not deny that there is little collective security in the world today. The French and British have abandoned it; Japan is left to have her way in the Far East; the small states are scared and are running to cover; the American Government insists on the highest principles of international morality but the people have not given that government a mandate to help enforce those principles. The idea of the preservation of peace by international conference, international force when necessary and by the establishment of social justice is under a cloud. But what is the result? Is the consequence of isolation, of neutrality, anything about which its friends have a right to be pleased? The crude form of collective security that operated through the League of Nations when the world was at comparative peace in 1930 was infinitely to be preferred to the anarchy of today with its millions of homeless refugees and the threatened destruction of democracy. The idea of collective security will be revived. It may take somewhat different forms. The League of Nations Covenant will undergo considerable revision and the League considerable reorganization. But the fundamental thesis remains the same. The world cannot have peace unless the overwhelming weight of the nations of the world can be thrown against aggression, reenforced by economic and military coercion if necessary, and until these same nations establish peaceful procedures for securing justice.

CLARK M. EICHELBERGER,
New York, N. Y.

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Horse Scents

To the Editor:

The article, "The Animal with Red Cheeks," in the Summer 1938 number of the AMERICAN SCHOLAR is most informative, interesting and amusing. It is very evident that Prof. Ducasse has made a study of human embellishments and adornments to have listed the numerous devices to achieve the desired end. One method which he has not mentioned, however, has come to my attention and it occurs to me that he as well as others may be interested in it.

Certain rural areas of central Europe consist entirely of small farms. There are no large estates, rarely one over twenty acres. Through the ages, two quite distinct classes or castes of farmers have developed in some of these communities—those who cultivate their acres with cows or oxen and those who have a horse for the heavy work. To be a horse farmer is even a greater distinction in these areas than to be a Ph.D. in America, because horse farmers are relatively more rare.

Many years ago the son of a horse farmer observed that every Saturday evening when he was tending the horse, the son of his cow-farmer neighbor, all dressed up in his best Sunday clothes, would come to call; also that whenever it was convenient, he would lean against the horse, and make no effort to keep his shoes clean from stable contaminations. By and by, the horse-farmer's son learned in a round-about way that his Saturday night caller was paying court to a horse farmer's daughter in a neighboring ("dorf") village and this was his way of collecting personal embellishments and adornments in the form of horse hair on his coat, perfume in his clothes, etc., in the hope of becoming more attractive and fascinating to his adored.

EDWARD H. OCHSNER,
Chicago, Ill.

Cosmetics: Barometer

To the Editor:

Mr. Ducasse has failed to recognize that cosmetics could signal a state of mind. Suppose I get up on the wrong side of the bed: why should I not announce my aversion to life by taking my eyebrows up to the scalp in a jagged line, circling my eyes with dark chalk and turning my cheeks a threatening blue? Similarly the cosmetic barometer might shift to a world of cloudless climes and starry eyes.

JANE SMITH,
New York, N. Y.

19TH CENTURY ART IS DYING....

—but 19th-Century politics and sociology are already dead. Yet liberals still talk about "free competition" and "collective security." And not a few radicals in this age of science still wrestle with the metaphysical abstractions of Hegel and his followers. If you are tired of *both*, try a typical issue of

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These articles, with editorials on the "religions" of Fascism and Anti-Fascism, letters on the European crisis by Charles A. Beard, Upton Sinclair, Norman Thomas and Thomas Benton, reviews, political paragraphs, etc., will be found in the early winter issues of COMMON SENSE. Start your trial subscription now.

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About Our Authors

Double quotation marks usually indicate passages taken directly from autobiographical letters requested from the authors themselves.

JOSE CASTILLEJO is now Director of the Union Internationale des Etudiants in Geneva "where selected students from many countries analyse and discuss international problems in the hope that peace may come through intelligence. Peace, like farming, politics and education, is the product of the skilful handling of primeval dispositions." . . . After Castillejo had received his doctorate in law and in philosophy from the University of Madrid he studied for two years in German universities and traveled through Europe. He was for many years a professor on the faculties of law of the Universities of Valladolid, Seville and Madrid, but combined writing and educational experiments with his academic duties. For 30 years he was secretary of a Board for the promotion of scientific research to whose work the pioneer reforms in Spanish education were due. "I have always regarded education as another aspect of government. . . . In education, as in law, politics and gardening, instincts are the starting point; and the art of handling them is more relevant than scientific theories. In my school (an international school where children were taught in four languages simultaneously, from kindergarten to university) we took advantage of the faculties which develop and wane before the advent of reason. . . . Since I refused to participate in the politics of civil war I left my country and went to England. There I published an historical outline of Spanish concepts of education, under the title *Wars of Ideas in Spain*." Castillejo has also published a volume on the educational system of England, a country which he considers the spiritual heir to the Roman genius.

JOSEPH JASTROW, with his 38 years of teaching at the University of Wisconsin, holds the all-time service record for a psychological chair. His article "Has Psychology Failed?" (Summer 1935 AMERICAN SCHOLAR) shows an impartiality that verges on the abnormal and that well qualifies him to examine the work done on ESP. He realizes that a fact is an uncivilized thing, not subject to the amenities of compromise. . . . As early as 1900 he issued a collection of popular essays, *Fact and Fable in Psychology*, which became a pioneer in informing the public of advances in psychology and "of the many doctrines which take the fair name of psychology in vain." This interest reappeared in *Wish and Wisdom*, published in 1936. Many of his other positions have been set before the public in his interim books—*The Qualities of Men, Character and Temperament, Effective Thinking, Wish and Wisdom*, etc. His *House that Freud Built* is "for the most part a logical—not a psychological—analysis of the weaknesses and errors of that formidable structure." Dr. Jastrow is a naturalistic psychologist and "has in hand a magnum opus in its exposition, to be called *The Life of the Mind*." . . . Throughout a couple of his twelve years' residence in New York he lectured at the New School for Social Research; and for four years he conducted a column, "Keeping Mentally Fit," which turned out to be a forerunner of several books on mental hygiene. "Be Sensible" is the present topic of the series of daily lectures which he has conducted over N. B. C. since 1935.

CHARLES A. MADISON learned Yiddish in his childhood and therefore when he heard, in his freshman year at the University of Michigan, of the annual Menorah prize of $100 for the best essay on a topic of Jewish interest he submitted a paper on a Yiddish writer and in due time was awarded the prize. The martial spirit of 1918 made the contest inopportune but in 1919 and 1920 he was again a prize-winner. His interest in Yiddish literature, thus established, has deepened with the years and has kept his reading in the current of Yiddish literature contemporary. . . . "After a year of graduate study at Harvard I came to New York to look for work. My first job was with the American Book Company but since 1924 I have been college editor of Henry Holt and Company. During my spare time I continue to write and have published, in addition to scores of reviews, a baker's dozen of critical articles in various periodicals. A completed book on Yiddish literature, however, has for several years been gathering dust for lack of a publisher."

FRANCIS A. HARDING, implacably opposed to pressure groups, first became interested in them when he was a junior executive secretary of the National Economy League in New England, formed to combat the Veterans' Bonus Bill. When a veteran asked him why the League picked on the veterans and not on all the other groups too he took the hint and started to study the myriad organizations held together by a program of "gimme." . . . "After graduating from Harvard I wasted two years in a broker's office and then went into the wool trade. For two years I worked as a laborer—sorting wool, running and fixing machines, and hand-trucking under a good, tough Irish boss. I learned to think of men who labor

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in overalls as individual human beings, not as groups of 'workers'; and I recommend this kind of education for some of our more prominent self-named 'liberals.'" . . . Mr. Harding almost feels moved to act the role of a Carrie Nation in a campaign against "meaningless phrases as gospels for social action—with reference specifically to words like 'liberal,' 'progressive,' 'unfair competition,' 'parity prices,' 'return on capital,' 'stability,' 'adequate,' 'purchasing power' and—the greatest hoax of them all—'the American standard of living.'"

ERNEST NAGEL, professor of philosophy at Columbia, has "never taken any stock in oracular profundity. I have never taken seriously, either (or at least not for long), the claims of so many philosophers both living and dead that they have access to knowledge not obtainable by the 'mere' man of science. I have read, studied, marvelled at and frequently enjoyed many of the great systems of philosophy; but my enjoyment of them is on a par with my enjoyment of music and does not mistake them for systems of knowledge except when, as is sometimes the case, they are intended to be controlled by the methods of the empirical sciences. I am amused, though I think without malice, at the antics of philosophers (again both living and dead) who try to make a profession of 'wisdom'—for they seem to me like people who pursue 'pleasure' and they seem to me to forget that like pleasure, wisdom is a quality of an activity and not an article of commerce, whether academic or otherwise. I think the history of philosophy is a terribly fascinating study, for it expresses deep-seated ideals of men come to the light under the pressure of intellectual, moral and social problems; but I do not think that any of the great historical systems, taken as attempts to find *justifications* for the conclusions of science or of daily life in terms of a theory of the universe, are worth the paper they are printed on. In brief, I do not find it possible or intelligible to hold beliefs in philosophy which I do not hold in daily life. For these reasons I have found the movement loosely known as logical empiricism sympathetic to my own temper as well as stimulating to my own reflections. . . . But like everyone else I dislike being catalogued or characterized as subscribing to a fixed set of theses and opinions supposed to mark every good logical empiricist."

H. BANTA MURKLAND, after graduation from Princeton in 1924, embarked on a variegated series of editorial, publishing and writing jobs, "culminating in a tour of editorial duty with the

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Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. . . . For the past three years I have been engaged in the exciting but somewhat nerve-wracking occupation of free-lance journalism and have contributed articles (and occasional book reviews) to such magazines and newspapers as the *Commonweal, Economic Forum, North American Review.* At the moment I am a regular if usually anonymous contributor to *Events.* . . . The exigencies of free-lancing have driven me to write on every subject under heaven, but my chief interest and the bulk of my work have been in foreign and international problems. Within this general field I find myself concentrating more and more (with increased intensity since the Munich settlement) on the affairs—social, cultural and economic as well as political—of the Western Hemisphere, where our future national interests so plainly lie. Primarily this means preoccupation with Ibero-America; but (although the fact seems to occur to few of our Pan-American experts) Canada is also a member of the family of American nations. It seems to me that that Dominion is worth considerably more attention, as a factor in Pan-American possibilities, than it usually gets."

I. L. KANDEL made his American début in 1908 when he became a graduate student at Teachers College, Columbia University. He began his career in this country as assistant editor of Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education.* From 1913 to 1932 he had two jobs—one as lecturer on the faculty of Teachers College and the other as staff member with the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. In 1923 he became full professor and Associate in the International Institute of Teachers College, and had an opportunity to develop a relatively new branch in the field of education—that of comparative education (the study of educational systems in different parts of the world). He has been forced to roam frequently and he has done it intelligently—to European countries, to Latin America (where he spent a year) and more recently to New Zealand and Australia. . . . "My main interest is the study of the relation between political and social theory and education, a relationship to which other aspects of education are subordinate. . . . I edit the *Educational Yearbook* of the International Institute of Teachers College, which presents surveys of the progress of education in various parts of the world, and am on the editorial board of the *Year Book of Education.*"

JOHN P. CHAMBERLAIN is a Princeton senior and managing editor of *Nassau Lit* ("oldest undergraduate literary magazine in America").

Most of us do not make or seize opportunities to follow one bent as unswervingly as MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS, professor of anthropology at Northwestern University. Last year he received a grant from the Guggenheim Foundation to write a book on primitive economics. He had already published *The American Negro—A Study of Racial Crossings, The Negro and the Intelligence Tests, Life in a Haitian Valley* and (with Frances S. Herskovits) *Suriname Folk-Lore.* The latter, an 800-page volume on the folk-lore and music of Dutch Guiana, should be of especial value to those interested in the music of the American Negro because it sheds light on the origin of much of the musical idiom of the Negro in this country. . . . "I have been interested in Negro studies ever since I began work in anthropology, but my interest arises primarily not from a desire to 'solve the Negro problem'—which I realize is the product of forces much beyond the scope of any movement, to say nothing of the work of any scientist—but rather because I feel that an historical development of the Negro in the New World has been such as to give us one of the nearest approaches to a laboratory situation in which the processes of human civilization and its relations to physical type can be objectively investigated. I am, of course, quite alive to the bearing my work has on practical problems of the day, not only here but over all the New World, and I am convinced that it is only through this approach, which seems to me to be more fundamental than any other, that adequate solutions of the race problem will be found."

MAUD A. MARSHALL, who has spent most of her life in Massachusetts, has become so imbued with New England traits that the idea of supplying two or three hundred words of autobiographical material is almost shocking to her. She graduated from Radcliffe and in 1933 received a Ph.D. from Oxford for work on alkaloids under Robert Robinson. That was followed by two years as chemist in Boston hospitals and by another year spent as research assistant in the Massachusetts Experiment Station. Since then, as instructor and later as assistant professor, she has taught biochemistry and organic chemistry at Wheaton College.

Whatever else JEAN CHARLOT does he continues to paint. Several years ago he held a one-man show which included six oil paintings from a projected series on the Mysteries of the Rosary and a similar series on the Way of the Cross. At that time Lincoln Kirstein wrote: "Charlot's work is the reverse of abstract or 'pure' art. It is

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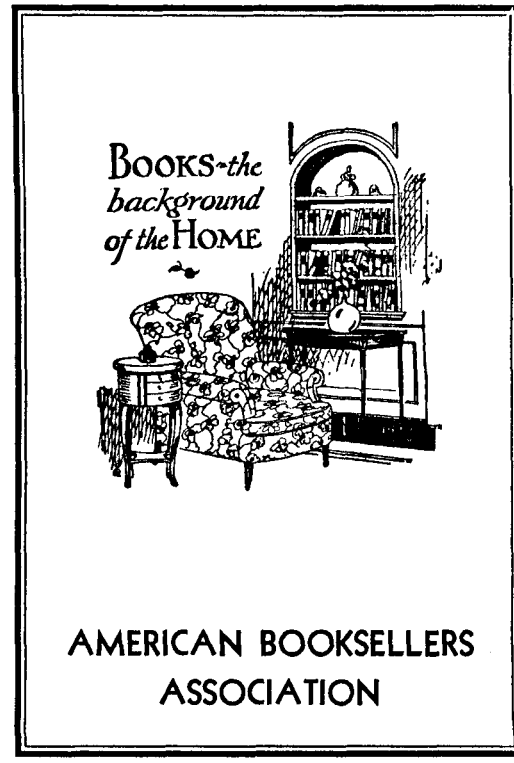
concrete and has enjoyed infusions not alone from Mexico but from Aquinas and the precise poetry of the Catholic mystics. Contemporary religious painting might seem an anachronism until one studies these six visions from the Christian epic." Charlot's hand and imagination are as sure when he uses secular subject-matter. . . . He is, moreover, a man articulate in language as in oils (see his "Painter's Insight, Public's Sight," AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Spring 1936; "Surrealism, Or the Reason for Unreason," Spring 1937). . . . He says that when he was in Germany in 1919 with the French Army of Occupation he became acquainted with the work of the great German masters, Grünewald and Lochner, and that they had a profound influence on him. In the course of his work for the Carnegie Institute, which sent an archeological expedition to Yucatan after the War, he became an authority on Mayan art; and during those same years he was so taken by Mexican subject-matter that it still constitutes a heavy percentage of his pictures. More recently he has probed the possibilities of lithography as a medium; and more recently still he spent some months in California lecturing in Walt Disney's studios.

PAUL BIXLER is a librarian at Antioch College and a man of catholic interests. For one aspect of them turn to his "Horace Mann—Mustard Seed" (Winter 1938 AMERICAN SCHOLAR).

Ever since he was mustered out of the army CLARK M. EICHELBERGER, national director of the League of Nations Association, has been a firm believer in world cooperation as the road to peace. He has traveled through Europe year after year since 1923 and has been eye-witness to historic events in Geneva—the Council in session on the China-Japanese conflict over Manchuria; the last appearance of Germany at the League; the seating of the Ethiopian delegates over the protest of Italy. Although he saw Briand and Stresemann in action and was a personal friend of Fridjof Nansen he has kept his ear to the ground by moving intimately among the plain peoples of many nations.

After five years in China (1911-1916) N. LASCELLES-WARD was placed in charge of Chinese educational work in Vancouver. He now teaches Japanese and Chinese history in the extension division of the University of Toronto.



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